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The educational revolution and modern society III

'Public' purposes and 'private' values

Universities, polytechnics and other colleges are the cutting edge of the educational revolution - so in any repeal of that revolution they will be first blunted. For this reason they have a particularly intimate relationship with the formation of modern society and consequently much to lose from its erosion. In the process of reindustrialization higher education plays the most dynamic and most influential role of any part of the educational system; it not only "invents" the future through the advance of science and all knowledge, but also applies it through a mixture of technology and (elite) pedagogy. In the parallel process of reindustrialization it is the source of new ideas and the arbiter of their best arrangement - to such an extent, however modestly denied by those in higher education, that it has the effective power to establish commanding metaphors of private value, public conduct, professional competence, even of a moral order of society. The self-consciousness of modern society and its assessment of the possibilities of change are the invisible but powerful products of the intellectual values favoured within higher education. A contrast is sometimes drawn between the "public" and the "private" lives of higher education, between its political arrangement and administrative structure and its intellectual values as expressed through the preoccupations of disciplines of knowledge. Yet the two are hopelessly entwined. If reindustrialization and reindustrialization are seen as part of a single process of consolidation of modern society, the "private" values of higher education are as relevant as its "public" structure to this theme.

The structure of higher education should also, reasonably, be valued, accurately in terms of present conditions and eloquently in terms of future possibilities. In Britain so far as we have any structure, or policy for higher education, it is the binary policy. Anthony Crosland's mid-sixties modification of the original Robbins blueprint for expansion. This policy was both conservative in the sense that it tried to protect the "open" tradition of further education from being overwhelmed by the more bureaucratic traditions of the universities, and radical because it acted as an influential metaphor to persuade everyone that in modern Britain higher education must be much more than simply the universities however liberally redefined by Robbins.

So the present binary policy is not only a reasonably accurate description of the political, administrative, and financial context for our higher education system, but also the nearest thing we have to an authoritative statement about the purposes of higher education. Yet it is important that the binary policy is not over-interpreted. It is as important not to confuse the clear objectives of the policy, as expressed by Mr Crosland and others, with the semi-messianic "objectives" assigned to it by unofficial enthusiasts; as it is not to conflate these same objectives with the means of implementation adopted in the late 1960s and the practical experience of the polytechnics and other colleges over the past 15 years. It is also important to recognize that the aim of the binary policy was to produce the political conditions to allow a plural system of higher education, to thrive, not to produce a rigid binary dichotomy.

Five objectives of the binary policy can be fairly easily identified. It is also possible to test with reasonable accuracy whether they have been achieved. The first, of course, is pluralism. The predominant objective of the policy was to frustrate the pattern of expansion envisaged by

Robbins, and instead to achieve the same or even greater expansion while maintaining the existing, 1963 balance between universities and other types of higher education institution. If Robbins had been followed, by 1980/81 63 per cent of all students would have been in universities, 26 per cent in "client" colleges of education, and only 12 per cent in advanced further education. If the then unforeseen rundown in teacher education is taken into account, the universities "share" under Robbins would have risen to 77 per cent. In fact in 1980/81 students were shared between university and non-university sectors in the ratio 58:42, almost the same as the 60:40 split of the early 1960s.

The second objective is relevance, the provision of courses that are more practical, more directly related to vocational demand. Here the evidence is more ambiguous. Potential students certainly see such vocationalism as a quality of the non-university sector, and polytechnic graduates are more likely to get jobs in production at the "sharp-end" of industry. But the subject balance is similar in both sectors, although again non-university institutions have been much more successful in maintaining sandwich courses than universities.

The third binary objective is comprehensiveness. Unlike universities, polytechnics (and to a much lesser extent colleges) are designed to offer a full range of courses, full and part-time, degree and sub-degree. Although the common Jeremiahsian view is that polytechnics have been rushing to abandon part-time and sub-degree courses, the truth appears to be less dramatic and more encouraging. Sub-degree courses in fact have not suffered as much as might have been supposed in a decade of rapid up-grading of courses and extension of the scope of degree study under the influence of the Council for National Academic Awards.

The fourth objective is social control, by which Mr Crosland and others probably meant the administrative control of courses through regional advisory councils, regional staff inspectors and the Department of Education itself more than the democratic control of institutions by local authorities. The former has been upheld and is now being modernized by the new National Advisory Body. The latter has been maintained, also, although with more grumblings. Both together have fostered a much stronger managerial interest in non-university higher education, in contrast to the pattern of academic oligarchy common in universities.

The fifth objective is the most contestable. It is that the polytechnics and colleges should be attractive to students outside the oppressively middle-class constituency of the universities. Binary zealots have emphasized this objective, but it was never properly articulated during the formulation of the policy in the 1960s. All that can be said is that the polytechnics and colleges have more working class students (mainly on their part-time and sub-degree courses), more mature students, and more students with other than traditional entry qualifications.

The actual implementation of the binary policy, of course, has run into practical difficulties. First, it seems to have been assumed that according to the inexorable law of expansion (temporarily inoperative) the polytechnics and colleges would fairly soon form the majority sector of higher education with the universities relegated to become an "academic" minority sector. This has not happened and is not likely to happen

until the next century. Second, there was always a tension between the principle of concentration of advanced courses mainly to secure strong viable institutions for full-time degrees, and of accessibility which required a dispersal policy, mainly for part-time and localized sub-degree courses. Third, administrative good sense required the building up of a small number of strong polytechnics but events during the 1970s conspired to make the non-university sector even more fragmented. Today there is a strong "third force" of colleges, which itself is beginning to sub-divide into liberal arts, proto-polytechnic, teacher training, and community college streams.

However the greatest flaw in the binary policy is that it has nothing, about the universities, that is a political level. At a practical level: once we had only had a higher education policy, it being assumed that the universities should be left alone; now we have two halves of a higher education policy which are only connected by the rusty and creaking hinge of the DES. In terms of the "private" values of higher education it is the source of even greater difficulty. The binary policy, and its attempted creation of a more "relevant" sector, took the democratization of the universities off the political agenda. It was a public signal to the universities that they were licensed to abandon their sincere if tentative concern to create a modern system of higher education within their own traditions, instead of re-drawing the map of degree study in new universities launched with such high hopes settled for what has been called the pedagogy of cultivation.

It is possible to argue that if the Robbins pattern had been followed, the very pace and scale of expansion, the unavailability of all but the intellectual contours of modern society, although massively strengthened in detail, is weakened in its general scope. Second, and similarly there is tension between "knowledge" and pedagogy, or perhaps between knowledge as a product and knowledge as a process. The most obvious symptom is the conflict between research and teaching, and the confused allegiances among teachers in higher education (polytechnics as well as universities) to which this conflict gives rise.

Third, within disciplines of knowledge, the concentration in the form of the binary policy on intellectual specialization often conflicts with humanism in the shape of how particular knowledge is related to learning in general and how it is related to the condition of society. Often the most exciting ideas, the most revolutionary Kuhnian paradigms, occur in the intellectual borderlands, perhaps because the weight of orthodoxy, tradition, expertise, even accumulated knowledge is less. Finally, the process of intellectual specialization may have led to the loss of a common intellectual language. The university has become less of an organic academic society and more of a shared bureaucratic environment. The result may be that in time the university, and the intellectual system, will be more and more controlled by knowledge bureaucrats who possess a meta-language of administrative command that has filled the vacuum created by the disappearance of common intellectual values. So the natural order administrative (or "public") values will be superior to intellectual (or "private") ones.

Third, this view is based on the probable misconception that within higher education, or even within universities, there is a stable and identifiable core of common intellectual values which all will recognize and respect. In fact within the private world of higher education, if that is a fair description, there are tensions just as great as those which surround the public issues of structure, accountability, access and so on, and not just because the intellectual revolutions within individual disciplines are often more frequent and more intense than those in the scope and structure of the system as a whole.

Both the academicism and the instrumentalism that are almost defining characteristics of the modern university have continued to intensify, the former as a result of the apparent logic of the formation of knowledge itself and the latter because of the external pressure to service the intellectual and training needs of modern society. Although there are interesting and close parallels between the formation of a new intellectual/technical division of labour and the fracturing of the modern university's knowledge base, academicism and instrumentalism are now engaged in almost constant war.

First, the increasingly cognitive and even theoretical preoccupations of higher education distort the proper balance of professional education, especially in applied science, and make higher education itself much less effective as an instrument for solving problems in the real world. At a practical level the arguments about engineering science or engineering, and about the contractor principle in research illustrate this tension. At a deeper level higher education's grip over the intellectual contours of modern society, although massively strengthened in detail, is weakened in its general scope. Second, and similarly there is tension between "knowledge" and pedagogy, or perhaps between knowledge as a product and knowledge as a process. The most obvious symptom is the conflict between research and teaching, and the confused allegiances among teachers in higher education (polytechnics as well as universities) to which this conflict gives rise.

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Peter Scott

Laurie Taylor, whose column normally appears on this page, is on holiday.

The Times Higher Education Supplement

Polytechnics bulging at the seams

by John O'Leary and Felicity Jones

Record numbers of qualified applicants are pushing the polytechnics into exceeding last year's student intake and leaving Government projections in disarray. Cash limits for student awards seem certain to be breached and the institutions themselves will be forced to cut costs further and increase teaching ratios.

Only a week after the publication of A level results most university courses are full and few school leavers can hope for places through the clearing operation. Many are opting instead for firm offers from polytechnics and colleges.

Even those popular polytechnics which planned to keep numbers level or to cut back now expect an increase, largely because of the difficulty of predicting the eventual take-up of offers.

At Sheffield Polytechnic, for example, the aim was to reduce the first year intake by more than 200. But Mr J. P. Twomey, the registrar, said: "Frankly, we shall be very lucky if we hold to last year's figures. We have been inundated with phone calls."

"We exceeded our targets last year and we are already bulging at the seams. We had 30,000 applications for 3,000 first-year places but, although there is some reason to hope for an increase in quality, the system does not guarantee the best students places or allow us to control numbers. It is a strong argument for a clearing house."

Portsmouth Polytechnic, too, is trying to reduce its intake in the face of the highest number

of applications of any polytechnic. And the five inner London polytechnics are all aiming to keep rigidly to their targets to cope with level funding.

The situation was summed up by Mr Peter Torode, chairman of the Polytechnic Academic Registrars Group who said: "The majority of polytechnics will experience a certain amount of unplanned expansion because of the very confused picture this year with the large number of applicants."

"Most are not planning for any significant increase because of the resources situation and because they are about to be asked by the National Advisory Body to say what they would do in the event of a cut in resources."

He nevertheless anticipated that intake at Newcastle Polytechnic, where he is registrar, could be about 3 per cent up.

Virtually all the courses at Leicester Polytechnic are full. A spokesman said that there were very few courses which were even considering holding waiting lists. "It is an appalling situation when school leavers who would definitely have been offered a place three years ago cannot even be considered now," he said.

Another popular polytechnic, Bristol, had 24,000 applications for 2,500 places and reports full courses in the favourites such as business studies, accountancy, and law with spaces still left on engineering and building.

Bristol expects to be about 5 per cent up on last year's intake but believes that it will be able to cope in spite of accommodation problems.

Teesside Polytechnic has suffered in the past from

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Scholars must fight for peace

by David Jobbins

The role of scholars in creating the preconditions for peace and disarmament and eradicating national rivalry was emphasized yesterday by the secretary general of the United Nations, Sr Javier Perez de Cuellar (above), in an address to the UN University in Tokyo.

"Being removed from the passions and prejudices which so often sway human decisions in the collective domain, it is the scholars and scientists, the leaders of thought, who can open fresh horizons and suggest new perspectives for the pursuit of humanity's common good," he said.

"Some of the ideas they suggest may well be visionary but this is no reason to dismiss them as of little consequence. For what is visionary today can become practical politics tomorrow."

The responsibility of academics studying the affairs of human society had increased manifold in today's complex world, and they faced the challenge of broadening and clarifying the data on which national and international politics could be based.

Scientists' findings on fall-out damage had paved the way for the partial test ban treaty some 20 years ago and he said it was for the scientists and scholars of today to maintain the climate of awareness needed for a full ban until concrete steps towards disarmament were achieved.

"They could also make clear the way in which the conventional arms race aggravated economic imbalance and social inequality. They should also analyse the roots of distrust between nations and aid the leaders of third world countries to eschew old prejudices."

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Telford College Barge Project. Students and staff at Telford and Stevenson colleges of further education in Edinburgh have just completed a four year project building a barge, the 'Janet Telford'. It will be used to take handicapped young people for trips on the 31-mile Union Canal, cut in the early nineteenth century by a workforce including the notorious Burke and Hare on lines proposed by the Scottish engineer Thomas Telford.

Wales escapes worst training cuts

by Patricia Sandhill

Welsh colleges seem to be escaping the brunt of Government cuts and are to have their 1983 teacher training targets reduced by only 29, according to figures announced today.

The six colleges, Bangor Normal, South Glamorgan Institute, Trinity College, Gwent College, West Glamorgan Institute and the North East Wales Institute of Higher Education are to have their targets cut from 715 to 686.

Currently their places are divided between 565 for three and four-year BEds and 150 Postgraduate Certificate of Education. In 1983 this is to be divided between 407 primary and 100 secondary BEds and 74 primary and 105 secondary postgraduate places.

Most of the reduction will be taken up by the loss of secondary "fringe" work. Wales escaping so lightly is likely to infuriate English colleges, 14 of which currently face losing their entire teacher training, with at least five in danger of being closed down. However, the Government has chosen to leave a decision on the

future of the colleges for 1984 and 1985 to the Welsh Advisory Board which may take a different view. Nevertheless unreleased figures for 1983 show that Wales is to retain a total teacher training target of 805, a rise of 119 on the 1982 figure.

The Association of Voluntary Colleges this week attacked the Government's proposals to close down 28 teacher training colleges without prior consultation.

The AVC says that this departure from normal practice and the threat of further cuts for representation are ludicrous, especially as the consequences of the proposed cuts are almost certainly closure of an institution or institutions.

The three voluntary colleges likely to face closure are two Roman Catholic ones, De La Salle, and Newman, and one Anglican college, Bishop Grosseteste.

limit the forms of training which colleges they undertake.

"While AVC would accept consultation on which subjects for secondary schools its colleges might make the most effective contribution, it does not accept the way in which its members have been virtually debared from certain areas of provision after only the barest attempt at consultation," it says.

Newman College has been having unofficial talks on a link-up with another Birmingham college, West Hill, which is Free Church, but the two have not yet agreed to merge.

The TUC is to be asked to categorically deny they are talking about some joint academic teaching on inservice courses.

Labour 'knock on open door'

by Paul Flather

Labour Party proposals to pressure universities into taking more people without A levels have been widely interpreted as "knocking on an open door."

There were also warnings about dilution of standards, reduction of excellence, and the enormous cost. A new discussion document, Education After 18, Expansion with Change, produced by Labour's higher education working group, says institutions have almost exclusively concentrated on the "educationally well fed" neglecting the need of most adults.

It proposes legislation entitling all those aged 18 and over who left full-time education at 16 to one year's full-time education with full financial support. All institutions, especially universities, would need to alter entry requirements and introduce new basic courses to make this possible.

The proposals, likely to become official party policy at Labour's national conference in the autumn, have been attacked on the grounds that talent could be sacrificed for

equality. The document was being examined this week by Labour's education sub-committee.

Professor Harry Hinesley, vice-chancellor of Cambridge University criticized the document for being written in the "usual exaggerated rhetoric" which did not contain much new. Oxbridge was already making many students without A levels be said. "But we cannot give way to egalitarianism at the expense of talent. All colleges compete for the best students from every walk of life."

Dr Harry Judge, admissions tutor at Brasenose College, Oxford, and head of the university education department, warned against diluting standards. He favoured a quota system for mature students. Dr Rhodes Boyson, under-secretary of state for education, said Labour had lowered standards by its comprehensive policy in schools, and now it wanted to do the same with universities.

Mr Geoffrey Caston, secretary general of the Committee of Vice-Chancellors and Principals, said Labour was pushing on an open door

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# Grant decision could solve OU crisis

by Karen Gold

Education ministers will make decisions on the Open University's 1983 grant in coming weeks and thus determine whether it continues to face a recruitment crisis.

Recently published figures showing that a record 43 per cent of potential OU students offered places for next year have turned them down, largely because of cost, will be among evidence to be considered by Sir Keith Joseph when he decides how much to increase the grant.

Student fee levels are effectively decided by the Government, despite being in principle a matter for the

university, since the Government grant takes into account a projected fee income.

Last year that income comprised 18.6 per cent of the OU's total, which included £54,800,000 from the Government, according to a university spokesman. The OU argues that this proportion compares highly unfavourably with other British universities, who this year will have to find only 13 per cent of their income from home students' fees.

"If a student is considering going part-time to a university, part-time fees might be £900 for three years," he said.

"A university degree at the OU at

the moment is going to cost between £1,500 and £2,000. This means people considering studying with us are already studying with us and going to find us more expensive, and that's a discrimination against the OU part-timer."

The OU Students' Association is about to begin a campaign against a rise in fees - which have almost doubled in the past two years - with the appointment of a new director of its grants and cuts committee next month.

But the recently announced OU Visiting Committee is unlikely to give much advice on this year's grant, since a decision has to be

made before the university's new academic year which begins in January.

The committee, which was set up as part of the agreement between the university and the Department of Education and Science that the OU should not come under the jurisdiction of the University Grants Committee, has already visited a summer school in Nottingham.

Most of the members, under the chairmanship of Glaxo Holdings chairman Sir Austin Bide, are expected to visit the OU Milton Keynes campus in the autumn.

## Science needs widening

from Jon Turney  
Science Correspondent

UTRECHT Teachers of pure science are too reluctant to include questions about human values in college courses.

The criticism was made last week by Gordon Lake of Newcastle upon Tyne Polytechnic. He said science teachers' lack of enthusiasm for courses on science, technology and society (STS) was the result of an orthodox world view.

In a paper given at the second conference on Science, Society and Education held in Leusden, Holland, he reviewed a number of obstacles to the growth of an STS component in science courses in British higher education.

The first was the tradition of teaching "valid" science, and the assumption that "the prime purpose of science education is the production of research scientists".

In Lake's view, this tradition has two sources: the attraction of pure science for an elite education system which abhorred technology; and the quantitative, reductionist bias of scientific knowledge. "Scientific truths at their most compelling are at levels of abstraction far removed from the language and experience of everyday life," he said.

This would be a source of conflict between the aims of STS teachers and established courses which were the main location for STS.

A further implication was that the identification of STS with general studies would be hard to overcome. Although some had suggested that STS would have to be separated from general studies if it was to become a legitimate part of science education.

However, he saw brighter prospects for STS in technology courses, because "technological education confronts the social, economic and political contexts of technology".

## Professor changes sides in cool move

by Olga Wojtas  
Scottish Correspondent

A professor who has retired as head of a unique specialist institute at Aberdeen University is to continue his research at Robert Gordon's Institute of Technology in Aberdeen.

And it is possible that Professor Nelson Norman, director of the university's Institute of Environmental and Offshore Medicine, will take several members of his research team with him.

Professor Norman has not revealed how much money he has received from Aberdeen, but said: "You certainly get a bit of a hand-out for early retirement, but that was a risk I took to give me time to see if I could set up a free-standing institute."

The professor denies any rift with the university, but academics say it is an extraordinary step to move to an institution where there has been long-standing rivalry with some university departments. It is thought that the institute's staff feel the university has not provided enough financial support.

Last session, the institute raised £400,000 from oil companies, bodies such as the Scottish charity, Action For Disaster and fees for consultancy and research work. Its annual running costs are around £30,000.

Professor Norman, a surgeon who has worked closely with the British Antarctic Survey, established the unit eight years ago to research the problems of medical treatment in remote areas and in the offshore oil industry. The institute had made considerable advances in the treatment and prevention of hypothermia.

"It has been very difficult to move as rapidly as I would like in these hard times, and I think the potential

to advance our subject is better in an institution like RGIT," said the professor.

"What attracts me to Robert Gordon's is that it is very much more active in applied areas of research work. It already has a very successful offshore survival school and an interest in paramedic areas, and I think there are more interdisciplinary possibilities."

Dr Peter Clarke, principal of RGIT, said it was hoped that Professor Norman's research team would develop short full cost intensive courses at the Offshore Survival School had done.

"It was set up in 1972, and has increased by 50 per cent every year. Last year 8,000 people went through it, this year 12,000 will. It has a staff of 40, and all its running costs are met from these proceeds."

Professor Norman is already working at Robert Gordon's, but has not technically joined the staff since he is seeking research funding for the new unit.

Where his research team would work was dependent on this, he said. "If its funding for a very academic piece of research, the chap would stay in the university, but if it's much more to do with offshore survival, it would be more appropriate to RGIT."

Since Professor Norman has taken early retirement, he also maintains access to the university's institute. "I'm fairly certain it won't fold, and the university's feeling is that it will carry on from strength to strength," he said.

However, some academics feel this is over-optimistic. Aberdeen's principal Professor George McNicol, has said he will make a statement on the institute's future soon.

## High tech funds raised

Four British universities are contributing to a £10m venture capital fund for small, high technology businesses.

Monsanto Ltd, the American chemical company, have put £5m into the fund. A further £1.7m will come from academic sources, including the universities of Oxford, Cambridge and St Andrews and Imperial College, London, and the rest from the City.

Peter Whippy of Monsanto, Brussels, said last week that the Advent Eurofund was the first venture capital fund backed by a large industrial

concern and by universities. The Nuffield Foundation in Britain and the American universities of Boston and Harvard are also involved in the fund, which will invest in biotechnology, agriculture and microelectronics, chiefly in this country.

Monsanto have had good results from a venture capital fund in America through which they have developed biotechnology interests in such firms as Biogen and Genentech. The company now feels that the climate is right for a similar initiative in Western Europe.

## Dudley takes axe to non-vocational adult classes

Dudley education authority in the West Midlands has voted to cut its adult education budget by a third, scrapping all non-vocational summer term classes, cutting hours and more than doubling some fees in the process.

The adult education service lost £50,000 from its £150,000 budget as part of the Conservative borough council's savings strategy. Non-vocational classes which form 85 per cent of the borough's provision outside its two further education colleges bear the brunt of cuts.

Classes will be reduced from two to 1½ hours with fees rising from £6 to £10 per ten-week term. No vocational classes will be held in the summer term, and students who go to classes outside the Dudley area will not have their fees subsidised.

Students coming into Dudley from outside will only be allowed to join classes in which Dudley inhabitants from a sizeable majority probably two-thirds.

Vocational class fees will also rise, but only in line with other West Midlands boroughs from £17 to £18 for a complete course.

Education committee chairman Councillor Dennis Hart said that the council did not expect the number of people attending classes to fall significantly.

## Graduate jobless figure up 40%

The number of graduate and college leavers registering as unemployed has reached about 55,000 this month, almost 40 per cent up on the equivalent last year. The figure is likely to rise more before the end of August.

Even though many graduates will move off the register in the autumn, the figures from the Professional and Executive Register, part of the Manpower Services Commission, suggest a weakening of the graduate job market as predicted at the start of the year.

The figures emerged this week after disclosures that the July unemployment figures were out of date because PER staff were unable to process the flood of graduate registrations in time. This month's unemployed total of 3,292,702 contains an adjustment of 15,000 professional jobseekers for July.

Mr Geoffrey Crosby, director of



A congress opens this week in St Andrews University to mark the four hundredth anniversary of the death of the Scottish scholar, poet and political thinker, George Buchanan, who studied at St Andrews and became principal of the university's St Leonard's College. The fifth congress of the International Association for Neo-Latin Studies, which has attracted 200 delegates lasts until September 1.

## Council may cancel technopark support

by Felicity Jones

The innovative South Bank Technopark development which would help to regenerate industry in London is in danger of being hijacked to another part of the city.

Five approaches at least have been made to the Prudential Assurance Company, which is providing £4.5m to fund the joint venture with the Polytechnic of the South Bank, to try to lure the scheme to other sites.

Mr Michael Mallinson, the company's joint chief surveyor, confirmed that he had received approaches from educational establishments, property companies and local authorities.

These included inquiries from Ulster Polytechnic and Salford University, Workington and Manchester.

The Prudential plan is to explore these options although it would prefer to hold on to the South Bank site.

Mr Mallinson said: "The site south of the Thames is quite special, placed alongside Britain's largest institute of science, engineering and technology and in close proximity to the City. We would like to keep it in an area which is suffering from increasing economic gloom but we will be looking closely at these new offers."

The fear expressed by Dr John Beishon, director of the polytechnic is that additional delays will force the company into the hands of other

educational establishments.

But this possibility was rejected by Councillor Alan Davies, chairman of the Labour controlled Southwark borough council. "It would not be easy to find another suitable site," he said. "It would be a pity if the company decided not to take the advantage of it. It is an important experiment and it is such difficult times that it would be a shame to lose it."

The scheme was thrown into jeopardy when the newly elected council said it wanted to use some or all of the land for housing.

It is considered to be an ambitious and well-conceived attempt to apply the expertise available in polytechnics to help business and new small industry. It would provide professional technological and marketing help acting as an "incubator for fledgling businesses" to contribute to the revitalization of the inner cities with their unemployment problems.

Seventy small technical firms would be accommodated in the three-storey building which would have a bridge to the polytechnic to offer easy access to its computer network, laboratories, engineering workshops and staff. It was expected to have been completed by March 1984 and to provide about 300 jobs in the first phase.

Since the site came under threat, the council, the Greater London Council, Prudential and the polytechnic have tried to find a compromise.

Mr Mallinson said: "The site south of the Thames is quite special, placed alongside Britain's largest institute of science, engineering and technology and in close proximity to the City. We would like to keep it in an area which is suffering from increasing economic gloom but we will be looking closely at these new offers."

The fear expressed by Dr John Beishon, director of the polytechnic is that additional delays will force the company into the hands of other

educational establishments.

But this possibility was rejected by Councillor Alan Davies, chairman of the Labour controlled Southwark borough council. "It would not be easy to find another suitable site," he said. "It would be a pity if the company decided not to take the advantage of it. It is an important experiment and it is such difficult times that it would be a shame to lose it."

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## News in brief

### Bondi to head Churchill college

Sir Hermann Bondi, the chairman of the Natural Environment Research Council and currently professor of mathematics at King's College, London, is to become master of Churchill College, Cambridge, next August.

The college, which according to the wishes of Sir Winston Churchill keeps about 70 per cent of its places for undergraduates reading mathematics, engineering, or natural sciences, will prove very suitable for one of Britain's most distinguished government advisers, and a brilliant scientist. He succeeds Sir William Howthorne, who is retiring.

Sir Hermann plans to continue as chairman of NERC until 1984.

### Panel dropped

The Science and Engineering Research Council has disbanded its pharmacy panel, set up five years ago to advise the engineering and science boards. Membership of committees making recommendations to these boards will be changed to increase their pharmaceutical expertise.

### Poly remembered

Coventry Polytechnic has set up an association for former students to coincide with its tenth anniversary. It already has over 160 members.

### Firm's gift

The computing firm Hewlett-Packard has donated £14,000 worth of equipment to Strirling University to be used by both the academic and administrative staff.

The general manager of the firm's South Queensferry factory, Mr Finlay MacKenzie, this week handed over to principal Sir Kenneth Alexander a communications line monitor and a logic state analyser to be used by the microprocessor section of the computer science department.

### On the air

The British Council and the Open University run their first joint course for foreign television producers at the BBC's OU Production Centre next month. The course, which replaces the British Council's television training programme, aims to improve educational and development programme-making skills and has received applications from nine countries including China, Nigeria, Pakistan and Norway.

### Teachers' rules

The Scottish Education Department has ruled that all lecturers appointed in the future to college of education posts involving teaching methods or teaching practice must be registered with the General Teaching Council for Scotland.

### Job spoken for

Mr Charles Kennedy, former president of Glasgow University union, and a past winner of the Observer Mace for Debating, has been appointed associate instructor in speech communication at Indiana University and coach to the university's debating team.

## Trade union studies grant may be axed

by David Jobbins

The quality of courses run by colleges for trade union officials will inevitably fall if the Government decides to withdraw or slash its £1.6m a year grant to the TUC, officials and tutors fear.

In a break with the tradition established since the Labour Government agreed in 1976 to help fund the TUC's education programme, Ministers have already failed to "inflation-proof" the annual grant for 1981-82.

The effect is that the £1.8m Government aid has been cut to £1.6m for the current year. Mr Norman Tebbit, Secretary of State for Employment, has also opened up the possibility that next year's grant, now under review, may be axed altogether.

One view of ministers is that when public spending is under scrutiny it is illogical for the TUC to receive public money to train union officials when affiliated unions are being told to refuse aid for secret ballots.

Mr Tebbit said this week that he accepted trade union education could be beneficial for industry at large. But his other remarks have alerted TUC officials to the prospect of an even more severe cut in grant this year even if it does not totally disappear.

Officials do not believe that the 30,000 places a year for shop stewards could be provided if the onus was thrown back on the TUC and affiliated unions.

Many of the 200 tutors working full-time on trade union studies courses in local authority-financed colleges believe the effect on the quality of course materials could rapidly undermine the high standards.

The TUC's education committee, chaired by Mr Clive Jenkins, has not yet had the chance to evaluate the threat, but is expected to take it seriously.

Of last year's grant, £702,000 was spent on union residential courses, and a further £215,000 on short courses. Of money retained by the TUC, £645,000 went on providing day release courses at local authority colleges, £215,000 on course development and £63,000 on tutor training. It is these latter categories which would be most at risk if the grant was withdrawn.

Pressure would be put on individual unions to make up the shortfall, or onto colleges and local education authorities to help fill the gap. Despite arguments that management studies enjoys a heavy hidden subsidy, many Conservative-controlled local education authorities could be loathe to divert resources to trade union studies.

Despite loans totalling about £1m from affiliated unions, the TUC has had to turn to a commercial bank to keep its scheme for a national education centre for trade unionists on schedule.

It hopes that conversion work will start in January on the old Hornsey Art College, bought from Harringey borough council earlier this year, and that the centre will be available for use by the labour movement in autumn 1984.



Petra van Zinnen from Delft in Holland, who is attending the Scottish country dancing summer school held annually at St Andrews University, flanked by Mary Louise Coulouris. The university is holding an exhibition of the artist's paintings, colour etchings and colleges at its Crawford Centre until September 5.

## Open up universities, says Labour

by Paul Flather

Everyone aged 18 or over should have the right to education and to adequate financial backing for it. The proposal comes from the Labour Party in a new discussion document. It would mean all higher education institutions would have to change their admissions policies and methods of study.

The party's document *Education after 18 - expansion with change* proposes a series of reforms which would give all students access to higher education as a right.

Universities, including Oxford and Cambridge, would be expected to shift away from relying on A level results as the major test of entry, and run new courses at all levels.

The plans were produced by the party's higher education working group chaired by Mr Phillip Whitehead MP, Labour's higher education spokesman, and including Mr Neil Kinnock, the shadow education spokesman. They are likely to be endorsed by the party conference.

The document proposes a universities council which is representative and accountable to Parliament to replace the University Grants Committee; a humanities research council to fund research in the arts, and the abolition of the seventh term examination for entry into Oxbridge.

The central recommendation is for legal entitlement to one year's full-time education for all those aged 18 or over who did not have full-time education after the age of 16. This would be backed by statutory legislation.

Employers would be required to set up education-training committees, and to grant paid educational leave in normal hours at no cost in wages, with a right to return to the workplace. The length of leave would be related to length of service, but would be a minimum of four weeks a year.

This entitlement would fulfil the party's aim of providing a "comprehensive and continuing system of education". It says education has concentrated almost exclusively on the educationally well fed while failing to meet the needs of the adult population.

The document discusses finance for its policy of entitlement including a national education insurance tax, a payroll tax, a negative income tax, student loans, and study mortgages. It sees education as an investment for reducing inequalities and reskilling society in a changing environment.

Access would be encouraged by making improvements to the present system of student support. Those

taking full-time courses below degree level would be eligible for mandatory grants if it was their first course, and support would be extended to part-time, short, and distance learning courses, without affecting eligibility for further education grants as students progressed.

Parental contributions to student grants would be ended, with parents taxed on the grants received by their children. Overseas students would receive bursaries, and selective aid here and in their country of origin, with sponsorship for refugees and other nonnatives.

Radical reforms are proposed in admissions policies, described as a major barrier to education. Priority in resources would go to institutions widening their intake and post-18 provision. More mixed subject courses, conversion courses, and alternatives for mature students, would have to be accepted.

The document contains a special section on Oxbridge, listing four general objections: that their intake from private schools is proportionately too large; that their entrance examination is an eccentric anomaly; that their tuition fees are larger than other universities because of the collegiate system; and that they play a determining role in elite formation in Britain.

## Call to withdraw notice of redundancy

Aberdeen's Association of University Teachers is to ask the university court to rescind the state of redundancy following the discovery that Aberdeen faces a deficit in the coming academic year of only £200,000.

Nearly 60 posts were due to be axed at the end of June but this was suspended when an error of several hundred thousand pounds was discovered in the university's financial projections. The state of redundancy

was not, however, withdrawn but postponed until December.

The new estimates are likely to be much more accurate than previous ones since they take account of academics taking early retirement and a voluntary severance scheme.

Following a meeting of the local manek said that in years before the University Grants Committee cuts, Aberdeen had faced projected de-

fits of £200,000 which was well within the error margin on a total budget of £30m.

"The reason given to us for compulsory redundancies was the financial situation, and since that no longer seems to be valid, we will formally ask the court to withdraw the notice of redundancy," he said.

"We see no grounds for panic in 1982-83."

## Group's fate in DES hands

by Jon Turney  
Science Correspondent

The third report from the Genetic Manipulation Advisory Group will leave the group's future in the hands of Sir Keith Joseph, Secretary of State for Education.

A draft of the report, says that many of the group's original objectives have been achieved. It has evolved satisfactory safety standards for experiments in which genetic material is transferred between organisms, and has encouraged the development of disabled bacteria for cloning DNA.

The expected benefits of genetic manipulation are now well on the way, the report says, and no ill-effects have been reported from any experiments.

The advisory group was set up to oversee the practice of genetic manipulation experiments following the recommendation in 1976 of a working party under Sir Robert Williams.

It attracted wide attention both because of its role in vetting scientific research and because its membership, including academics, industrial scientists, trade unionists and individuals delegated to represent the public interest.

The group's workload has been greatly reduced in the last two years by changes in procedure and one member, Professor J. Sabak-Sharpe of the institute of virology in Glasgow, proposed it should be wound up as early as December 1980.

However, as the draft report says, most members believe there is still a role for a body like GMAG, although there is general agreement that its status should be reviewed.

But there is no consensus among members about what changes should be made, so the report makes no firm recommendation. It says it will be up to Sir Keith and Parliament to decide.

The draft report notes there are now more than 85 centres in Britain carrying out genetic manipulation, and that any hazards are now thought to be limited.

It says the introduction of a new scheme of risk analysis for assessing experiments and greater reliance on local safety committees means that notification of some categories of work to the advisory group is unnecessary.

This change, formalized in 1980, has produced a sharp drop in the group's routine work, so it only met five times in 1981.

It is not known what the DES response to the report will be, although the final draft has been with the department for a month and will be published in the next few weeks.

It is felt that Sir Keith will consider three main options: continued operation in the present GMAG format; passing surveillance of research safety standards to the Health and Safety Executive; and transferring the group's operation to the Department of Health and Social Security.

## Labour policy

continued from front page

in many respects. Almost 10 per cent of the 1980 university entry had fewer than two A levels. Some universities were already thinking of foundation courses, but the doubted this was the best use of scarce resources.

The Confederation of British Industry warned that the cost of the programme would be enormous, and highly inflationary if provided publicly or at the expense of other educational provision. In principle employers were in favour of educational leave, especially if relevant to employment, it said.

Lord Vazey, former head of social sciences at Brunel University, said the document was well argued from the point of view of quality. But he estimated the cost could be £5,000 — one million students at £5,000 each. This expensive revolution in education would not happen because the Treasury or the electorate would see to that, he said.



# Science teaching 'too narrow'

by Jon Turney  
Science Correspondent

Radical reforms in scientific education and research are proposed in a Labour Party policy outline published last week.

The interim report from the party's new Science and Technology Study Group says that British science education is too specialized and gives scientists and technologists too narrow a view of their work.

Education must be changed to overcome ignorance of science among industrialists, administrators, politicians and civil servants, the report says.

And it suggests there should be continuing scientific education for adults to enable them to make informed decisions about the control of science and technology.

This goal should also be the basis for a review of the existing research system, the group believes. The party would seek a framework "in which government, management, trade

unions and the scientific community itself jointly influence the general direction of research and development".

This framework would need to coordinate the work of universities, polytechnics, research councils, government departments and industry.

The group also says it will need to consider whether the present system of funding could be developed to cater for new research priorities or whether we need "a completely new structure".

The report points out that more than half of Britain's state funded research is devoted to defence, compared with only 35 per cent in France and 12 per cent in West Germany.

This means a radical change in research priorities is needed, the group says, so that science and technology are redirected towards solving social problems.

At the moment, new technologies such as genetic engineering are seen

as ends in themselves, the report asserts. We should ask, instead, what role genetic engineering can play in food production or the health service.

Members of the study group from higher education include Mr John Akker, deputy general secretary of the Association of University Teachers, Professor Tom Blundell of Birkbeck College, Dr John Beishon, director of South Bank Polytechnic, Mr Glyn Ford, a lecturer at Manchester University and Professor Steven Rose of the Open University.

The interim report will go before the party conference in the autumn, and the group will then look in detail at policy for specific areas. Position papers have already been drawn up on biotechnology and new communications networks.

Other areas to be considered include the research system, new government machinery and industrial planning and the future of scientific and technological education.

# All's well at Malvern Hills

by Karen Gold

Malvern Hills College, which was adopted by a private trust to prevent its closure by the local authority, reopens next week with a new name, a new director, and plans to renew community involvement in adult education.

New the Malvern Hills centre for adult education, it has been promised £70,000 from Hereford and Worcester county council to support it until the end of the next academic year.

After that the Wyvern Trust, which was formed by local business and education interests to prevent the college closing, will take over financial responsibility for it.

The chairman of the trust's steering committee Mr Peter Watson, this week announced a series of plans to rejuvenate the college, where attendances have fallen from 4,000 to 2,000 a year. The new director of courses, Mr Alan Gorton, was previously an adult education lecturer and adviser.

He hopes to open the centre at weekends by next year, with courses on Saturdays and facilities for community groups on Sundays, and to extend the college year from its present three 12 week terms.

The trust has applied for charitable status and will depend partly on donations from local businesses interested in the possibility its role in

providing training and creating jobs in the area.

It also hopes to raise money from small businesses set up by students using the craft facilities at the college. The trust is already considering transforming a barn into a craft centre and gallery to attract outsiders and show students' work.

Most of the college's seven full-time staff have accepted new contracts as freelance trainers paid by the hour. Those unwilling have been redeployed by the local authority, according to Mr Watson.

There are also plans to run employment-based courses, possibly with Manpower Services Commission support.



**CLOWNING AROUND.** Toby Philpot leads a street theatre/clowning workshop at the first summer school of the International Amateur Theatre Association held at Leicester Polytechnic. Fifty students, teachers and professional actors from all over Europe attended the school which was divided into four workshops led by leading exponents of amateur theatre including the associate director of the Berliner Ensemble Brecht Company, a mime artist from East Germany, an Israeli dancer and an English juggler.

# New animal experiment controls delayed

by David Jobbins

New legislation to update controls on animal experiments is likely to be held up for at least a year because a European convention on the issue has been delayed.

Ministers have left the framing of the new laws to replace the 1876 Cruelty to Animals Act to backbench MPs. But they have made it clear that parliamentary time is a limiting factor and it would be wise to wait for the Council of Europe convention.

Campaigners had hoped that the convention would have been ready for ratification last spring. But there were fundamental differences among officials on questions such as the definition of acceptable levels of pain and repeat experimentation.

Although there are hopes that the full convention could be sewn up at an official meeting in November and presented to Ministers soon after, a further session could be needed.

This would push ratification by Ministers back to summer 1983 - with legislation in the UK possibly

following in the 1983-84 session of parliament.

About a quarter of the four million animal experiments conducted each year take place in universities and polytechnics. The bulk are carried out in commercial laboratories, mainly in product testing.

Any delays are likely to infuriate campaigners who have been pressing for tighter controls particularly over the degree of pain inflicted and the need for experiments in the first place.

One case quoted by Dr Judith Hampson, the Royal Society for Prevention of Cruelty to Animals' chief experimentation officer and a member of the Home Office advisory committee, involved poisoning monkeys with paraquat.

Mr Brian Gunn, of the National Anti-Vivisection Society, attacked the draft as a "vivisectionists' charter" and accused ministers of sheltering behind the convention.

"Meanwhile 90,000 animals a week will die Britain's laboratories. If the Government wants to cut spending this would be a good area to start."

# Unions can't afford to ignore training, warns TUC leader

The trade union movement could no afford to neglect training without putting the future of its members at risk, Mr Ken Graham, TUC assistant general secretary, warned this week.

Speaking at a TUC consultative conference in London on the future of industrial training, Mr Graham said: "Unemployment and redundancies face unions with big problems but training also requires a high place on the agenda. This will involve improving union organization and competence at every level."

He added that the new Youth Training Scheme's success would largely depend on the response of employers and also on the extent to which unions could influence them. They must not be allowed to get away with the sham excuse that they could not afford training.

Mr Graham said the major issue facing the trade union movement was how to advance young training for

everyone and provide more access for disadvantaged groups and young women.

"One major concern is whether a common foundation year will further undermine apprenticeships or play into the hands of employers looking for low cost selection schemes to cream off the few for extended training," Mr Graham said.

Unions would have to ensure that quality was maintained in YTS and also fight attempts by the Government and employers to reduce youth wages below a certain level.

"What is important for unions to appreciate is that unlike under the Youth Opportunities Programme, unions can negotiate young people's terms and conditions including wages of those on the YTS," Mr Graham pointed out.

Another major issue was how YTS related to the apprenticeship system, currently in a state of crisis, he said.

# Colleges blamed for racism

Teacher training colleges contribute to racism in Britain by failing to train students in multicultural education, a controversial BBC documentary to be shown next month alleges.

The 45-minute programme is a compilation of extracts from a series, called "Multicultural Education" made by the corporation's continuing education unit for in-service teacher training.

It argues that because colleges neither equip teachers to deal with racism, nor bring different cultures fully into the curriculum, racism in schools is as strong as ever.

"Without a declared government policy and major changes in teacher training, will enough schools see the need and tackle it? Can the school system respond?" the commentary asks.

According to the producer, John Twitchin, the original programmes were aimed at those with responsibility for training teachers. They are due for a second showing on Monday afternoon in October.

The documentary, which includes a new interview with Lord Scarman arguing that last summer's riot was a symptom of racial disadvantage

which had to be dealt with in schools, will be shown on Sunday September 5, at 11.25pm. Such a late time has disappointed some educationists.

It also includes examples of good and bad practice in schools, discussions among black and white teachers, and pupils and former pupils expressing racism or their experience as victims of it.

Teacher training students are unfamiliar with such ideas and material, according to John Twitchin: "The students I have met have invariably asked their own tutors when the staff of the college are going to be given a chance to see the material, implying that many staff don't give any recognition to multicultural concerns either formally or informally."

Even where colleges have a multicultural education course, it is frequently optional or treated as irrelevant to academic work, he added.

Material from the film was included in evidence he gave to the CNA working party on multicultural education, which is considering ways of increasing awareness in its course validation.

# Bid to outlaw unscrupulous employers

A new drive to prevent unscrupulous employers from exploiting the New Training Initiative is being made through the TUC.

The National Association of Teachers in Further and Higher Education says the machinery which will implement the Manpower Services Commission proposals should involve trade union and educational representatives locally and nationally to monitor the quality of schemes and eradicate job substitution.

Anger at reports of employers sacking staff to employ young people on MSC-financed schemes last year led to the prospect of the TUC withdrawing from the Youth Opportunities Programme. This was averted only at the last minute by Natfhe and other unions.

This year Natfhe has tabled an amendment to a TUC conference resolution from the Society of Civil and Public Servants. This welcomes the MSC's proposals and the Task Group report as the foundation of "proper schemes of further education, training and work experience which are needed for all young people in the transition from school to work."

Natfhe's amendment affirms the SCPS view that the NIT can only succeed if a permanent job is available at the end of the training.

It and other resolutions will go through a compositing process before the final shape of the congress debates in Brighton next month are fully known.

Youth unemployment has been identified as a contributory cause of last summer's inner city violence by the engineering section of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers in another amendment.

ject specificity could be reduced in two ways. The first might be through the concept of major and minor subjects. This would enable teachers to qualify either for one major and minor subject or for a range of minor subjects.

An alternative might be for the concept of curriculum areas, for example the award of OTS in science teaching, in technical subjects or linguistic studies rather than in geography, chemistry or Spanish.

But the council warns that although its proposals offer a degree of flexibility for teachers in their probationary years or early years of teaching, others would only be able to expand their expertise through a substantial increase in in-service provision.

The council says there is a case for creating conversion courses to enable teachers who are qualified to teach one age group or subject to extend their qualifications beyond those areas.

The council is also in favour of the new concept of OTS to cover both school teaching and further education, with the latter being considered a sub-area, akin perhaps to the 11-plus phase of school teaching or primary phase.

# Illiterate victims 'need a cure'

by Olga Wojtas

The Scottish Institute of Adult Education has called for a 10 year programme of basic adult education to help more than 300,000 people.

The institute says the Scottish Adult Basic Education Unit must be retained to head the attack on "widespread and crippling deficiencies" in basic education.

The unit was due to close next March three years after the Scottish Education Department set it up for a limited period.

A background report from SABLE says that in the early years of the BBC's adult literacy campaign *On the Move*, it was widely assumed that adult illiteracy would be eradicated by a concerted, short campaign. When it was realized the problems were deeply engrained, the SED established the unit for three years.

The institute's president, Sir Kenneth Alexander, principal of Strirling University, said that despite heroic work and progress, it had become plain that SABLE and regional schemes could not possibly eradicate

Scotland's problems in that time.

"The range of problems has increased and the number of people needing help is beyond the scope of present resources. We estimate that over 300,000 Scots are expected to live and work with educational knowledge and skills well below that expected of today's school-leavers."

"We know that only a small proportion of those needing help have been reached. Indeed we fear that number needing help may well be increasing as modern life gets more complicated and the existing system of education more demanding," Sir Kenneth said.

The unit's work covers not only literacy and numeracy, but also basic managing skills, preparing people for a new start in life, and helping to raise their self-confidence to cope with formal education, training and professional examinations. The report points out that SABLE's budget is still related to an earlier, narrower remit.

It has collaborated with both regional and central bodies and most regions now have their own resource

centre, with staff trained by SABLE. However, it says that public spending cuts have made it increasingly difficult for local authorities to provide adequate resources.

It has identified organizations which can become involved in adult basic education, such as health boards, the prisons service, Age Concern Scotland and radio and television. It has worked with them to develop staff training and classes beyond the reach of traditional education departments.

SABLE particularly aims to help unemployed people from ethnic minorities, women seeking re-entry into education and training, elderly people, slow learners such as the mentally handicapped and brain damaged, deaf people.

The number of adults helped by the unit has risen over three years from 12,000 to almost 18,000, and the scheme needs around £200,000 annually from the SED to continue effectively. The Scottish Education Minister is expected to make a statement on its future at the beginning of next month.



Taking the latest technological developments to industry's doorstep will be Dr Patricia Fleetwood-Walker, the first director of the new Centre for Extension Education at the University of Aston.

The new scheme will help managers, engineers and technologists update their technical knowledge in the workplace or at home. Courses will be available in packages of video tapes, lecture notes and exercises.

Dr Fleetwood-Walker said: "Doing a busy job can make it difficult to find the time to fill the gaps in knowledge arising from fast-changing technology. The university has a lot of experience in running these sort of courses but they can be expensive for the employer with the cost of travel, meals, fees and finding someone else to do the job while the employee is away."

# Schooling threatened by rigid qualifying system

Proposals to make the system of qualified teacher status more rigid would be educationally retrograde unless vital elements within the system were retained, polytechnic teacher educators claimed this week.

The Polytechnic Council for the Education of Teachers argues that flexibility and curriculum innovation are threatened by the Department of Education and Science's plans to award OTS only for a limited age range or subject.

"PCET would regret the introduction of a system which was dirigiste, through undue central prescription. It notes that some other countries with centralized educational systems have moved towards devolution in recent years," the council says in its response to the DES.

In order to maintain these elements the council proposes that the age ranges chosen for phase specificity should overlap for instance from pre-school to 9, from 5 to 11, from 7 to 13 or from 11 upwards.

"In any case we are aware that the sharp primary-secondary distinction made in the DES paper does violence to many current and emerging patterns of schooling throughout the country," PCET says.

PCET also believes that rigid sub-

# Ulster group urged to name v-c

by Paul Flather

Rapid steps should be taken to appoint a vice chancellor to head the institution created by the proposed merger of the New University of Ulster and Ulster Polytechnic, according to the Association of Polytechnic Teachers.

The association has told the official steering group that delay in making such an appointment or setting up a senate would be harmful.

The steering group has recently discussed the question of appointing a vice chancellor and has decided that it would be better to wait until details of the shape and scope of the new institution have emerged before looking for the right person.

The steering group faces a lack of time. If it followed the APT advice it would probably have to settle for an internal appointee from one of the two institutions involved at the risk of offending the other. Open competition for the post, though desirable, could take six months.

Mrs Heather Eiggins, who chairs the APT at Ulster polytechnic, told the steering group: "Delay in moving ahead with the first post specifically for the new institution can only be harmful."

The APT appears to accept this would mean the appointment of an internal candidate. At its annual general meeting the APT passed a motion urging the post be filled by a person, of "the highest academic calibre with experience of running a large institution according to the polytechnic philosophy".

This view contrasts strongly with demands by the Northern Ireland Committee of the Irish Congress of Trade Unions, representing the majority of staff at the polytechnic and NUU, that the post should be widely advertised and the best candidate appointed.

Student representatives have met the steering group and expressed strong reservations about the whole project. They are particularly anxious about possible cuts resulting from the merger in spite of Government assurances to the contrary, about the future of the Magee site in Londonderry, and about the development of non-degree courses.

Mr Mark Durkan, deputy president of the Union of Students in Ireland, said: "We still do not accept there is real educational value behind the merger. It is all cloak and dagger stuff. It is being run by well-intentioned people in a cloak - and once set up you will see the dagger in the form of cuts."

The APT has also added its voice to disquiet expressed at the presence of Dr Peter Froggett, vice chancellor of Queen's University, on the steering group as an NUU nominee. "He will obviously be in a difficult position in trying to act in a disinterested manner," it says, a view strongly denied by Dr Froggett.

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North American news

Late retirers 'block talent'

from Peter David

WASHINGTON American universities are fighting hard to wriggle out of the provisions of a popular bill being considered by Congress which would abolish compulsory retirement at any age for employees in the public or private sector.

A university spokesman told Congress last week that passage of the bill would have "dire consequences" for higher education, blocking the recruitment of talented young academics and jeopardizing the system of academic tenure.

Speaking on behalf of the major university associations, Harvard professor John Dunlop told the labour committee of the Senate that the bill would shelve new job opportunities in universities which were already finding it difficult to replace retiring staff.

"Colleges and universities must have a healthy number of relatively new faculty members if they are to continue as effective centres of teaching, learning and scholarship," he said.

"In some fields, such as mathematics, the major contributions of an individual are often made early in his or her career."

University lobbyists do not expect to be able to block passage of the bill, which is strongly supported by President Reagan. In April the 70-year-old president said the criterion for retirement should be fitness to work and not age. But they hope to persuade Congress to exempt returned university academics from the new law.

To illustrate the potential damage



President Reagan: supports bill

of the bill, Professor Dunlop said it was conceivable that if all its tenured academics chose to stay on to 80, one third of the tenured faculty at Harvard could be between 70 and 80 years old.

"Plainly, many would elect retirement before that time. But there is whole new class of the elderly professoriate, and a corresponding decrease in younger faculty."

The universities also fear that unless academics are exempted from the bill, the system of academic tenure will be abandoned at many institutions. Most American universities decide after six years whether to grant permanent job security to lecturers.

By abolishing a mandatory retirement age Congress would be presenting the universities with a painful

Hobson's choice. Professor Dunlop warned the Senate committee. Retaining the tenure system would block the advancement of younger academics and damage the intellectual life of its institutions.

Alternatively, they could choose to eliminate tenure altogether. Or to alter the tenure system in some substantial way, perhaps by periodic review of 'competence' - with chilling effects on academic freedom as we know it and, consequently, on teaching, on faculty morale and on the long term advancement of knowledge.

Despite its support for the bill, the administration is likely to be sympathetic to the argument for an exception in the case of universities. Senior business executives are already exempted from the legislation, and in 1978 Congress gave higher education a few years' breathing space before complying with a law raising the retirement age from 65 to 70.

Mr Malcolm Lovell, under secretary of labour, told the senate committee that the government had not yet been able to examine the likely impact of the measure on academic staff. He recommended a temporary exemption for academics - with retirement set at age 70 - until a fuller study could be made.

But he warned that the administration strongly supported the bill. "Let me emphasize what a monumental step the president is proposing for America. No longer will it be legal for any able-bodied person to be retired at some arbitrary age. No other president has ever proposed enactment of such legislation."

Students reveal all on senator

by Ross Davies

Senator Jesse Helms is a name that causes a shiver when mentioned in the liberal faculties of universities in America's South, and particularly in his home state of North Carolina.

To Americans, Senator Helms (right) is the hardline Republican scourge of the Reagan economic policies, which Senator Helms thinks too soft by far.

On North Carolina campuses, however, Senator Helms is the man who once objected to the inclusion into English literature syllabuses of Andrew Marvell. Senator Helms found objectionable the lines in *To His Coy Mistress* "Had we but world enough, and time / This coyness lady were no crime".

For once, however, the state university has managed to penetrate the senator's camp. The results are now to be seen in a revealing article in *The Tar Heel*, a student newspaper that circulates in the University of North Carolina in Chapel Hill.

Seeking a vacation job, the news editor of the paper, Ms Alison Davis enrolled with an agency for temporary work. The agency is in the nearby state capital of Raleigh, home of Duke University, and also the stronghold of Senator Helms.

Ms Davis was assigned by the agency to help open Senator Helms' mail, five-foot stacks of which confronted her when she joined nine other workers in Raleigh's Congressional Club.



She was astounded at the volume of mail from outside North Carolina supporting the senator's stand against ERA and abortion. Many envelopes contained campaign contributions. Ms Davis and her fellow workers processed about \$15,000-worth a day in the two weeks she was there.

One, she remembers, came from a well-wisher who sent a cheque for \$25 with apologies for not sending more, saying the sender's social security cheque was only \$90 a month. Senator Helms, by the way, would like to see social security benefits reduced, but his well-wisher may have overlooked this in enthusiasm for the senator's moral majority campaigns.

But Ms Davis and the team in the Congressional Club did however have the benefit of clear instructions on how to deal with the heaps of supplications and benedictions before them. It was, she writes: "Unless I got a cheque in it, throw it away."

Overseas news

Growth in student numbers must stop

The expansion of higher education in East Germany must be stopped by 1990 a leading sociologist said recently.

Interviewed on East Berlin radio, Professor Manfred Loetsch, who holds a senior post at the Academy of Social Sciences of the East German Socialist United Party, said that since the war the number of graduates in the workforce had doubled every 10 years.

It had now reached 20 per cent and further continuation of this growth rate no longer made sense. Some limited growth was still feasible, he thought, but by the end of the decade the proportion of graduates in the workforce should be stabilized at around 25 per cent.

The expansion of university-type training has been carried out at the expense of other types of vocational training. According to the Party Secretary, Erich Honecker, while the number of graduates in the workforce rose from 716,000 in 1971 to 1,400,000 in 1981, during the same period the number of skilled craftsmen and technicians rose from 3,200,000 to 4,700,000 - an increase of 30 per cent against almost 50 per cent for the graduates.

Speaking of an SED Central Committee meeting last June, Mr Honecker said that the training programme for skilled craftsmen was "not fully satisfactory". Moreover, in 1981, he said, some 12 per cent of graduates and up to 22 per cent of skilled craftsmen were employed in jobs below their qualifications levels. Over all, 18 per cent of all skilled and qualified workers were employed in unskilled posts.

According to Professor Loetsch, this is not due to much of an absolute over-production of skilled personnel, as to wrong use of those who have been trained. This is a somewhat surprising conclusion, since higher education the GDR is, theoretically, organized so that every student is fixed up with a job a year before graduation; a scheme which the educational planners maintain both reduces worry during the final year and provides an incentive to study harder to be sure of graduating.

The high level of qualified people in posts which do not make use of their training suggests that many of them quit these guaranteed jobs as soon as possible.

This is perhaps not surprising, since the learned professions, the sciences in particular, have so far not been fully included in the East German structure of payment according to the "performing principle" - ie with bonuses given by results. Payment according to a fixed rate for the post, Professor Loetsch said, "in the long run saps the will to perform of productive and creative people".

Work in the sciences is hampered by the lack of back-up personnel. In East Germany, on average, five creative scientists have four technicians and similar support personnel between them, where the international average ratio is six auxiliaries to one scientist.

This is frequently justified by the politicians, he said, as "non-elitist"; nevertheless, he maintained, for a trained specialist to have to waste his time on non-specialist duties was a gross waste of his or her potential.

Political divisions grow deeper

From Craig Charney JOHANNESBURG

The split among South Africa's Afrikaans students is widening. Stellenbosch students are urging the admission of Blacks to their institution, while Pretoria's student council has been taken over by the far right.

These events reflect the deep political divisions which have emerged among the ruling white minority's dominant group led by president Andrew Bartlett.

The Stellenbosch call came in a resolution of the student parliament which declared: "racial discrimination at university level is not in the national interest." Instead of a formal colour bar. It called for a system of racial quotas. Allowing a black presence while preserving the "Christian Afrikaans" character of the university.

At present, blacks number about 3 per cent of the student body, admitted in fields for which their segregated institutions do not cater.

Stellenbosch is traditionally the most liberal Afrikaans campus, and has often served as the pace-setter. Following the students' move, rector Mike De Vries promised to raise the issue of more open enrolment with the university's council.

However, the compromise resolution was so loaded with conditions that even its acceptance by council would have little immediate impact. It suggested an initial quota of 80 per cent white Afrikaans students, which is the present proportion.

The Passage of the resolution earlier this month followed the cancellation of a student referendum on a non-racial merit-only admissions standards last year as a result of conservative resistance.

Meanwhile at the highly conservative university of Pretoria, the largest of the five Afrikaans universities, elections gave control of the students representatives' council to supporters of the conservative party, the far-right breakaways.



Bartlett: leads the white minority

Minister appointed

From Patrick Knight

SÃO PAULO Brazil's first woman minister of state, Esther de Figueiredo Ferraz, took over as minister of education last week from General Ruben Ludwig, who was the minister for the past 21 months. Senhorita Ferraz is 67 and unmarried. She has been director of higher education at the ministry for the past few years, and has just resigned after 12 years on the National Education Council, the main advisory body to the minister. Senhorita Ferraz, trained at São Paulo University in law, was rector

of that city's private Mackenzie University from 1956 to 1970, then became secretary of education in the country's most powerful state.

Senhorita Ferraz says her prime concern is pre-school education, which has become a priority in recent years. The previous minister, General João Figueiredo who was close to the president of his predecessor, Eduardo Portella. Because of his links with the president, he was able to win more funds for education at a time of stringency, including good salary rises for teachers.

Promotions system to change

From A. S. Abraham BOMBAY

A special body of the University Grants Commission (UGC) in India has recommended a system of promotions for teachers which would be radically different from now.

Now, promotions in universities and affiliated colleges, as in almost every other field in India, are determined largely by seniority, or length of service.

The UGC body proposes instead a "merit promotion scheme" in which proven academic attainment is the main qualification and seniority a secondary or even non-existent one.

Aspirants will need to have taught for at least eight years after confirmation, and at least four of them in the place where promotion is sought. At the end of each academic year, they must present details of their work to their college. The latter, in turn, will have to maintain teacher "profiles" showing the contribution of each staff member to teaching, research, extra-curricular activity, and other areas.

The profiles will be given to the university where a special panel, including at least two experts in the relevant subject, will decide on the applicant's case. Promotions will be made only when the panel unanimously recommends them. But they will not bring the recipient teacher any benefits or a reduced workload.

The proposal, on which the UGC will shortly decide, has the support of teachers' bodies all over the country. It was at the instance of the All-India Federation of University and College Teachers' Organizations (AIFUCTO) that the UGC group to study the question was set up.

Officially, the student unrest was attributed to political "irredentists" from outside the university, whose political views included a strong commitment to Enver Hoxha's Albanian brand of communism.

However, the president of the action conference of the Socialist Youth Federation of Kosovo, Hiri Trilija told the conference that students were greatly disturbed by the difficulties which faced them as members of Yugoslavia's Albanian minority.

Job prospects for Albanian-speaking graduates, he said, were so bad that many students deliberately prolonged their studies for up to seven years in order to put off the problem of finding a job.

Workers' education loses its grant

This has been tacitly approved by the university authorities, since federal funding of the university is on a per capita basis. A federal investigation team last year found that out of 45,000 students registered at the University of Kosovo, only 25,000 were genuinely pursuing full-time studies.

Serbs and Montenegrin graduates of the University of Kosovo, said Toljaj, could move out of the province and get jobs anywhere in Yugoslavia. For linguistic reasons, this was impractical for the Albanian speakers.

Moreover, Albanian young people were becoming increasingly aware of the growth of anti-Albanian feelings in Yugoslavia, and feared a return to the anti-Albanian repression instigated by secret police 25 years ago.

International protests at the government's decision are being coordinated by the 33-member international federation of WEAs, sending telegrams to Prime Minister Robert Muldoon and support to attempts within New Zealand to introduce a private members Bill.

Academics help return to democracy

From Bernard Kennedy

ANKARA Last autumn Turkey's ruling generals set up a consultative assembly to take on some of the functions of a parliament and to draw up a constitution under which the country would return to democracy. They chose many of its members from the academic world and when the assembly delegated the task of preparing the law to a committee of fifteen, nine of them were teachers in higher education.

The full assembly is now debating the committee's text, which proposes new powers for the president and some controversial limits to individual and corporate rights and freedoms. But it also states (article 165) that "universities are public corporate bodies", that they "are governed by organs elected by themselves" and that the appointment, promotions and dismissals of university teaching staff are regulated on the basis of scientific autonomy and are carried out by these organs.

This may seem fairly innocuous, at least to anyone who has not followed recent changes in higher education in Turkey. In fact, it is highly controversial. The military administration has deliberately reorganized the administrative structure of higher education so as to give the state day-to-day control of university life through the medium of the Higher Education Council, on which representatives of the universities themselves are in a minority.

The constitutional proposals also seem to rule out the recently mooted idea of private universities. Speaking in the assembly debate, Mr Ibrahim Goktepe expressed a view which is widely held in conservative circles. He said the autonomy granted the universities under the 1961 constitution had made it impossible to root out student violence, with police often being denied access to university campuses. He also hinted that the professors on the drafting committee had sought to protect their own interests by inserting the above clauses.

However, the chances that Turkey's new constitution will undo the controversial Higher Education Council Act of 1981 seem slim. The assembly or, more probably, the ruling National Security Council, may well alter article 165 before the constitution is submitted to a referendum in November, while the democratic institutions which will take over the running of the country in late 1983 or early 1984 will have many things to discuss besides the repeal of the HEC Act. The constitutional court will have the power to overturn rulings of the council on grounds of unconstitutionality, but its authority is also being limited by the constitution.

HEC President Professor Ihsan Dogramaci, when questioned, expressed opposition to article 165 of the draft constitution, but he does not seem worried. The HEC has just set up its own disciplinary committee with the power to sack all junior academic staff on grounds of corruption, crime or "gross misuse of responsibility" and to make periodic enquiries into the affairs of any or all of the universities. Whatever the draft constitution has to say, the centralization process continues.

Bigger awards due soon

From Geoff Masien

MELBOURNE Australian students will get bigger government allowances and will be able to borrow up to \$1,000 a year to a maximum of \$9,000 from 1983, under arrangements announced last week by the federal treasurer, Mr Howard.

He was delivering the Fraser Government's seventh budget. As well as a 20 per cent increase in the tertiary education allowance scheme, the government will increase postgraduate awards from \$800 to \$900 and raise the living allowance by 48 per cent. The living allowance will go to \$6,850 a year and award holders will be able to receive up to \$1,000 a year from any institution award and up to \$5,000 a year from private industry without the Commonwealth allowance being affected.

Under its loan scheme, the government and banks will provide between \$500 and \$1,000 a year. To be eligible a student will need to be an

international student or have permanent resident status, but there will be an income test. As well as guaranteeing each loan, the government will subsidize by 5 per cent the interest rate charged by banks. At present a student would have to pay interest at 9.5 per cent. Students would not be asked to make repayments while studying or for two years after completing or discontinuing their course and they would have up to 10 years to complete repayments.

Although student groups welcomed the increase in tertiary allowances and increased postgraduate awards, they condemned the government's intention to introduce the loans scheme. A spokesman for the Australian Union of Students, said the introduction of the loans scheme was merely the first step by the Fraser Government in phasing out grants to students. However, the federal minister for education, Senator Baume, said the loans scheme was introduced as a supplement.

Mr Beckham cited Welsley and Mount Holyoke colleges, both former women's colleges at opposite ends of Massachusetts, as having "extraordinary attributes". Welsley, he said, maintains a network of 186 black graduates who assist in recruiting minority students and in career counselling; Mount Holyoke requires all of its students to take at least one course in an area concerned with "non-white culture", said Mr Beckham.

Blacks attending Harvard, he said, expressed a greater degree of dissatisfaction than blacks enrolled at other Ivy League schools. He said the relationships between students and lecturers at Yale University, in New Haven, Connecticut, appear more intimate than elsewhere.

Two-year rule worries high tech industries

Despite vehement opposition from the universities, the Senate has approved a bill requiring all future foreign students to return to their home country for two years between completing their studies and applying for permanent residence in the United States.

Its supporters claim the measure will reduce America's growing dependence on foreign employees in high technology industries, and plug the brain drain from developing countries to the United States.

But the universities have fiercely opposed the bill. The American Council on Education wanted congressmen that instead of forcing foreign students to return to their home countries, the measure is likely to divert talented graduates away from the United States and towards jobs in Europe and Japan.

In a debate on the measure, Senator Edward Kennedy said it was contrary to American interests to force abroad foreign graduates to leave the country when the United States was facing critical shortages of skilled employees in many high-technology areas.

"It makes no sense when our universities and businesses are starved for scientific talent for the United States to train engineers or computer specialists at MIT for jobs in Ger-

many, he said. Senator Paul Tsongas told Congress that his own state of Massachusetts, where one third of all employed people worked in high-technology companies, would find it difficult to remain competitive without the help of American-trained foreign scientists and engineers.

He added: "Currently, newly graduated foreign students are an important source of faculty for American colleges and universities, particularly in engineering and computer science. With over 1,600 faculty positions in these fields now vacant, there is a critical need for qualified teachers to fill the void."

Under pressure from Senator Kennedy and his allies, the senate majority agreed to install a loophole in the bill which would permit the immigration authorities to waive the return-home requirement in the cases of a number of specially talented foreign students in the natural sciences, computing and engineering.

Despite its approval by the Senate, the bill will not become law until it is debated and approved by the House of Representatives. Higher education lobbyists in Washington expect that the Kennedy loophole - may be amended in bargaining between the Senate and the House.

Prestige colleges decline inclusion in guide for black students

from E. Patrick McQuaid

CAMBRIDGE, Mass. A consumer guide to American colleges and universities, scheduled to make its debut this autumn, has generated controversy.

The *Black Students' Guide to Colleges*, will profile 110 institutions, addressing the special concerns of black students and parents, says its principal author Professor Barry E. Beckham of Brown University.

While the book was still in its planning stages, problems arose with several college administrators who refused to cooperate with Mr Beckham's staff of a dozen student journalists. Among them was Harvard, which reversed its decision after learning it would be the only member of the prestigious Ivy League not

to participate in the survey. On behalf of the undergraduate college at Harvard, Archie C. Epps, dean of students, had declined to complete a questionnaire on Harvard, because of the overly "subjective nature" of the subject matter. "Responses to questions about race are so easily distorted by misperception," he commented.

Administrators at a number of colleges said they were reluctant to cooperate after having been "burned" earlier this year by tongue-in-cheek editorializing in a guide book written by Edward B. Fiske, education editor of the *New York Times*. The newspaper which published the book through a subsidiary, later removed its name from the title.

Colleges opting not to participate are the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Haverford - the largely Quaker-influenced college in Pennsylvania - Swarthmore (also in Pennsylvania), the US Military Academy at West Point, Amherst College in Massachusetts and, disappointingly, adds Mr Beckham, the traditionally black Jackson State College, in Mississippi.

Some colleges returned data on minority enrolments and percentages of black teaching staff, but Mr Beckham said his student-editors had decided to include only those colleges that returned a complete package. "It simply wouldn't be fair, otherwise they'll cooperate next year and be included in future editions."

Mr Beckham cited Welsley and Mount Holyoke colleges, both former women's colleges at opposite ends of Massachusetts, as having "extraordinary attributes". Welsley, he said, maintains a network of 186 black graduates who assist in recruiting minority students and in career counselling; Mount Holyoke requires all of its students to take at least one course in an area concerned with "non-white culture", said Mr Beckham.

Blacks attending Harvard, he said, expressed a greater degree of dissatisfaction than blacks enrolled at other Ivy League schools. He said the relationships between students and lecturers at Yale University, in New Haven, Connecticut, appear more intimate than elsewhere.



# Unearthing the problems Down Under

Geoff Maslen reports on the cash crisis in Australian universities

Australian universities are on such a shaky financial footing they cannot confidently plan even six months ahead.

This threat to their autonomy, and the lack of clear national policy to aid forward planning, was highlighted recently by Professor David Caro, chairman of the Australian vice chancellors committee, at a conference of university governing bodies. In the most forthright paper delivered to the conference, Professor Caro, who is vice chancellor of Melbourne University, said university thought and opinion was being sieved through veils of ignorance before it ever reached Parliament. This meant the real position of universities was becoming increasingly misunderstood.

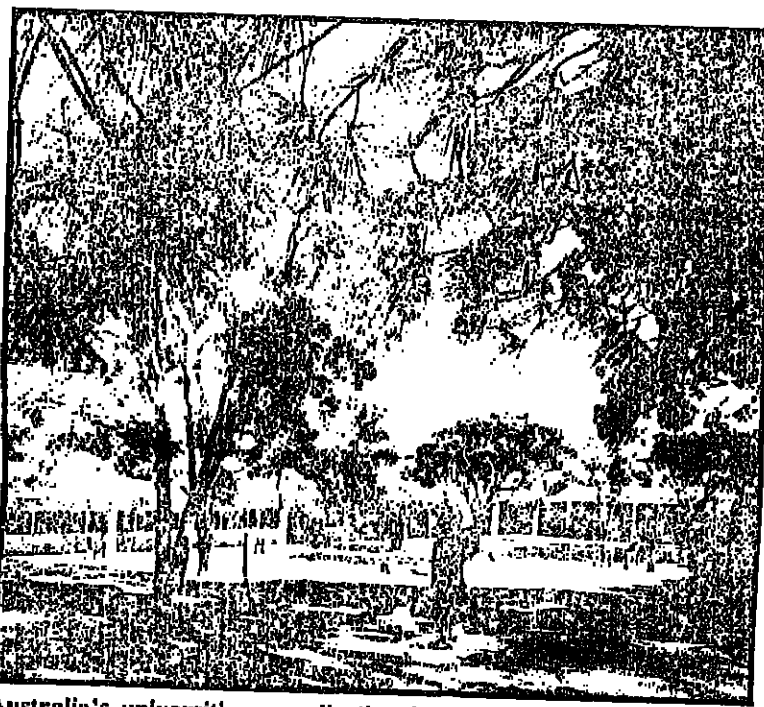
Professor Caro attacked the complex system by which university affairs were coordinated and described them as a "jungle" which was proving to be bewildering, unwieldy and expensive.

"As far as I am aware, there is no other country in the world which has invented such an involved coordinating and advisory apparatus. The move from a reasonably simple arrangement of one Commonwealth commission to the present organizational shambles has been incredibly rapid," Professor Caro said.

He said the present arrangements were far too complicated for a satisfactory understanding between governments and universities to exist without superhuman efforts.

On the major theme of the conference, university autonomy, Professor Caro and other speakers said there was no doubt that autonomy had been reduced. They pointed to inroads on the right of institutions to determine the conditions of employment of staff, and that they were obliged to pay salaries recommended by the academic salaries tribunal. The direction of research effort was being affected by Government decisions, and the Government was using its financial powers to dictate to universities on questions of fees, particular courses, and their freedom to plan ahead.

Professor Caro particularly attacked the Government's decision last year to abandon the system of mak-



Australia's universities: coordination is a "bewildering jungle"

ing up for unavoidable cost increases by supplementary grants at the end of each year. Instead the university grant now included a "prospective inflation allowance" which was supposed to cover anticipated cost increases.

In 1982, however, the first year of the scheme, the prospective allowance was exhausted by mid-year. With more general staff and academic salary rises, universities faced large deficits unless the Government decided to make a supplementary allocation - in breach of its stated new policy.

"The point I wish to make is not that universities are badly off, although that is true too. It is that it is quite impossible to administer an institution efficiently and responsibly, let alone maintain morale, if in August it is not possible to calculate whether the university will be in balance or deficit by several million dollars," Professor Caro said.

But in his opening remarks the federal minister for education, Senator Peter Baume, disputed whether universities were worse off, or whether their traditional autonomy was under threat. Recurrent grants to universities had risen, not declined in recent years, he said, as had grants to university research. He agreed that funds for capital works had been cut.

On the issue of autonomy, Senator Baume said that in regard to Commonwealth intentions and actions,

"The road that university research takes in the future will depend heavily on the level of funding of these two sources and on the policies and procedures adopted by the committees administering research funds," he said.

Professor Brennan said 60 per cent of the 20,500 higher degree students in 1980 were enrolled for degrees by research - more than 80 times the number enrolled in 1946. In the same period the undergraduate numbers had increased by only a factor of about six. "I doubt that the shifts in expenditure and staff resources reflect accurately this difference in growth," he said.

As far as ARGS grants were concerned, the average grant to researchers had dropped dramatically - by nearly a factor of two from 1970 to 1980, Professor Brennan said. In 1970 there were 23 projects costing A\$100,000 or more (in 1982 prices) whereas in 1982 there are only two. A small increase in the average grant achieved in the last two years - a move to increase the support of excellence - had resulted in the failure to gain support of an increasing number of projects of good quality.

Sir Bruce Williams, director of the British Technical Change Centre, and former vice chancellor of Sydney University, noted that in the past 25 years the recurrent income of universities was very much more adequate than it had been. Access to university education had been greatly extended, and funds for research had increased substantially.

There was cause for concern, however. The climate of opinion was not favourable to universities. This was shown by the fall in age participation rates (not entirely due to reduction in financial support). In addition few Government ministers or senior civil servants admitted to much admiration of the universities and their works, Sir Bruce said.

Amendments to State Grants Acts implied a change in attitude to one less supportive of autonomy and the distinctive role of universities, Sir Bruce said. The ending of grant indexing on unsound ground had restored methods of finance that were tried in the past and had been found wanting. Moreover, although the level of grants per equivalent full-time student had held up well, the increased costs of ageing staff, brought about by the ending of growth.

Sir Bruce said there had been an increase in real expenditure per full-time student of about 2.5 per cent above the level of 1975. This tended to support Government assertions that its policy was to maintain sup-

## WORLDWIDE

port to universities. He had no doubt that while he was vice chancellor of Sydney University, the financial problems had increased and that was inevitably a consequence of a reduction of growth in the system.

"In such a condition, incremental creep brought a significant increase in costs not reflected in the indexes. The decision of the Government to make cost of living adjustments to pensions and to bill the former employers of the pensioners added almost 1 per cent to universities' real costs between 1975 and 1981," Sir Bruce said.

In that time, too, there had been a reduction in the employment of part-time academic staff and tutors from 37 per cent to 20 per cent of full-time equivalent staff, he added. As a result of reduction in recruitment



Sir Bruce Williams: "concerned"

and no change in the provision for promotion by merit, there had been a rise in the proportion of associate professors from 11 per cent to 13 per cent, in senior lecturers from 21 to 29 per cent, and a reduction in lecturing staff from 24 to 19 per cent. The result of the increase in the average age of staff was an 8.5 per cent cost increase in real terms, Sir Bruce said. The overall increase in costs not covered by escalation was about 6 per cent between 1975 and 1981, and the additional grants needed by the universities to maintain level command over real recurrent resources was between A\$55 and A\$60m by 1981. "That is sufficient to justify their conclusions that there had been a marked increase in financial stringency," Sir Bruce said.

# The magazine on screen



## Jon Turney looks at the electronic revolution in academic publishing

At first sight, the electronic journal appears to offer a timely solution to a number of pressing problems in academic publishing. Replacing bound texts which repose on library shelves with an "on-line" computer database offers hard-pressed publishers the opportunity to make a change every time a paper is called up, while librarians would only pay for articles which are read.

For the librarian, who has just found that a 10 per cent cut in the annual budget means cancelling a fifth of journal subscriptions after price rises, a fully-articulated electronic system could guarantee continued access to the full literature. And for authors and publishers editing, refereeing and proofreading through a computer network would eliminate the 17 or so mailings now needed before a typical journal paper appears in print, and cut the time between submission and publication.

Not surprisingly, there are still a host of technical and organizational questions to be settled before the model electronic journal becomes commonplace, for the full adoption of modern information technology would not just help solve some problems of traditional print and paper publishing, but promises a complete transformation of the existing system for communicating research results.

Along the way, publishers, authors, readers and institutions will have to decide who pays for what; which of the new formats the computer makes possible to promote; how to guarantee refereeing standards; and who has access to information.

The problems are so daunting that John Senders, who carried out trials with a prototype electronic journal in America was forced to conclude in 1977 that "we have visited the future and it doesn't work". Five years on, in the British Government's Information Technology Year, how much closer are we to a fully functioning electronic journal? The answer depends on who you ask.

Put the question to Frederick Plotkin of the new American company Comtext and he will tell you that he has firm plans to start more than 20 electronic journals later this year. Papers submitted to these journals will be refereed and made available on-line from a computer data-base in less than eight weeks.

The new journals should be available to scientists all over America

with access to minicomputer terminals linked to the phone system. Research workers across the Atlantic are already well accustomed to using their computer terminals for literature searches and retrieval of abstracts - one recent survey estimated the total market for on-line databases in science and technology in the United States as \$26m, projected to rise to \$94m by 1985.

This is clearly the market Mr Plotkin is aiming at. "We propose to offer the marketplace a window on research that's being done now."

However, established scientific publishers are dubious about Comtext's proposals, especially as the advertised source material for the journals - progress reports written for funding agencies - sounds distinctly unappealing. Few observers in this country seem prepared to credit Mr Plotkin's claimed £8m in advanced orders, either from libraries or individuals. And no one else is likely to follow suit in the near future.

Robert Campbell, a director of Oxford based Blackwell Scientific Publications, wrote recently that "it is highly unlikely that a new range of electronic journals by themselves can be run profitably for several years."

This is not to imply that the big scientific publishers do not take the possibilities of the new technology very seriously. In Europe, the answer to our question would probably be that the components of the electronic journal are being assembled in several ventures, usually in parallel with traditional publication.

One concern with a wide range of interests in the field is Elsevier, which has freed four senior executives from other duties to devote themselves to electronic publishing. Dr Jack Franklin, one of them, explained that the company did not see computer-linked journals as a golden egg, but as a necessary path for a major publisher. "We want to be able to supply our information in any format," he said.

The first fruits of Elsevier's development effort will soon appear, in the biomedical field. The company plans to launch a system for rapid publication of short articles which will appear in a conventional journal and be entered into an electronic database. The novel feature of the system, which has been set up with International Research Communications, is that input into type-setting for the journal and the computer file requires only one keying operation.

will be filed, while the system's commercial potential is assessed, and new issues will be entered with the three month lead-time for the printed editions.

Most of the first group of users using this service will be in America, but Dr Franklin hopes to bring it to Europe next year.

A third Elsevier initiative will be to link the existing *Excerpta Medica* database to some complete journals, as well as abstracts, a good example of the way in which electronic media may blur the boundary between primary and secondary sources.

Elsevier does not yet know how these new services will be received or, as Dr Franklin put it, how successful they will be at "persuading a rather shell-shocked academic community to take up new systems." But at least some universities are enthusiastic about the prospects, and the company is already experimenting with further elements of the model electronic journal, such as receipt of manuscripts in electronic form and systems where referees for a new paper can be selected by a computer.

The impact of developments like this is being assessed in a major research project in this country, funded by the British Library. The British research team's answer, if asked about the immediate prospects for an electronic journal, would probably be that it is too soon yet to say if they are still working out what form it might take.

But Birmingham and Loughborough Electronic Network Development (BLEND) links 60 scientists in 25 research laboratories, each of whom has undertaken to submit at least one paper and one short note during each year of the three year programme, and to keep a log book recording use of the system.

The system's hardware and programming come from Birmingham University and system users are trained and coordinated from the University of Loughborough. The BLEND team, under Professor B. Shaker of Birmingham hope to test the full range of possibilities of an interactive electronic network. The system began in January 1981, and the network's "journal", *Computer-Human Factors*, received 16 papers in its first year, although only two of these were submitted on-line the rest came in typescript.

But this is only part of the project. The British group is also setting up informal communication through the network between researchers in the journal's field of man-machine interaction. Once the links exist, it is easy to start electronic newsletters, ask for comments on prospective publications, exchange messages, and arrange for co-authorship of papers.

One trial of a computerized information system like this in Ameri-

ca, found that about 20 per cent of the 500 participants became "addicts", using their keyboards for at least an hour a day to communicate with people they rarely met.

However, Pamela Graddon of the British Library's research division said that work on this kind of use was still at a very early stage on BLEND. Although the project has already attracted a good deal of interest from publishers, the researchers are sure it will take a couple of years to evaluate the system.

They are negotiating with other groups of academics to see how workers who do not spend so much time dealing with computers as the subscribers to *Computer-Human Factors* respond to the new technology. At the end of the project, we should know in more detail how to structure papers for an electronic journal, how important present limitations on reproduction of diagrams are, how new editorial procedures can be implemented, how electronic "papers" are read, and how different charging arrangements affect use of the system.

The BLEND investigation may go some way toward making up for deficiencies of the Government's Information Technology '82 programme, which some in the publishing industry feel has so far been concerned with technology at the expense of information delivery tailored to specific needs.

In the meantime, another initiative from within the industry could also produce changes in information supply - working back from the market, as Robert Campbell described it, rather than being devised by technologists.

The Adonis scheme is being developed by a consortium of scientific publishers, including Elsevier, Pergamon Press, Springer-Verlag, Blackwell Scientific and John Wiley. Their collaboration was born of the need for a large capital investment and a joint concern with problems of copyright in the supply of offprints.

The technical components of the new document delivery system are listed in a recent book, *Multi-Media Communications*, edited by May Katzen of the Primary Communications

Research Centre at Leicester. The book is a digital videodisc for storing text and figures; a high speed scanning and printing system; and an interface between them.

When in operation, the system will be near a centre for offprint requests like the British Library Lending Division at Buxton Spa, which will pass on orders to be processed through Adonis. The publishers can then collect a fee for each article printed out.

The videodisc store should eventually be linked up for document transmission by telephone line or satellite. As with BLEND, where telephone charges have proved an obstacle, and the Elsevier projects, Adonis will be heavily dependent on an efficient telecommunications network. Here, the British facilities will be augmented by optical fibre cables provided by British Telecom and by the private Project Mercury, funded by Cable and Wireless, BP and Barclays Merchant Bank.

Adonis is designed to use new technology to distribute printed text more efficiently. Whether the other systems under trial will wean academics away from print on paper for the bulk of their reading remains to be seen.

But if they prove reluctant to embrace the computer terminal and the visual display unit other researchers are already working on more exotic modes of presentation. For example, Nicholas Negroponte of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology has designed a system where a keypad and joystick can be used to call up combinations of images on a wall-sized screen. Data from an electronic "notebook" can be displayed on the wall, blown up or reduced, and moved to make new juxtapositions.

Two such systems have already been installed, one in the White House and one in the Pentagon. British institutions will have to wait a while longer for anything comparable, of course, but academics over here can still console themselves with the knowledge that they can read *Nature* on the bus, while the technophile is tied to one place.

# The role of self in society

Donald Fields joins 150 pedagogical scientists at the World Association of Educational Research congress in Helsinki

nourished, he said. As a vice president of the World Future Studies Institute which maintains close contact with the Club of Rome, Professor Suchodolski said he could not understand why schools in East and West could not adopt teaching on the new international economic order.

Professor Suchodolski disclaimed the relevance of his remarks to contemporary Poland. But an East German, Professor Helmut Klein of Humboldt University, upbraided him at a seminar while the academician Yuri Babansky of Moscow was obviously not amused by his performance. When interviewed Professor Suchodolski said he failed to understand why Marxist countries could not accept the spirit of humanism advocated by Ernst Bloch. He noted that Poland, where the curriculum was the "most conservative element" in schools, had not incorporated peace studies into its education system.

The WAER's Helsinki congress on "Personality, education, society", drew together 150 distinguished pedagogical scientists. In one of the most fascinating papers given during the plenary session, Professor Ayonunde Yolofo of Ibadan University in Nigeria spoke of a clash between the traditional values of the Yoruba people and those which Western educators attempt to inculcate.

In particular, the custom of attributing human misfortunes and the process of wishing others harm to a force called *ayil* - which is beside *iri*, a concept directing human behaviour - deviated from the Western practice

of holding people responsible for their actions. Yorubas, especially the educated ones, were perplexed about which values to retain. Some of the best psychiatrists, by allowing for each individual's way of interpreting events, were managing to intermesh both Yoruba and Western values.

Asked which facets of Yoruba culture were worth preserving before the advance of Western methods, Professor Yolofo referred to the profound and universal belief that through education people should acquire wisdom in their heads and skill in their arms. Even as people shifted from manual to clerical occupations, these basic values, which made children realize they should not be passively dependent on their peers and relations, could survive the test of time, he said.

Professor Yolofo noted that the process of training children to be good and diligent citizens was not related to school subjects. The Helsinki congress had sparked a controversy on the sense of deviating curriculum from personality development. On balance, Professor Yolofo was for it. He thought it could coincide with the holidays rather than, at the same time, with camps organized to kindle leadership skills and endurance.

Approaching the relationship between the personality, education and society, Professor Hans Scheuerl of Hamburg analysed the modernist view, by three great philosophers - Kant, Pestalozzi and Schleiermacher. The last-mentioned he admired for devising a dialectical system that balanced the poles of thesis and

antithesis in education.

Professor Scheuerl cited other polarities between "personality" and "society", "individual" and "universal", "preserving" and "improving", "momentary" and "future", "supporting" and "counteracting" all as tasks of education. He visualized a pendulum swinging between the needs of the individual and those of society as education strove for its widely defined aim of self-realization and personal identity.

He considered that in West Germany the swing was currently towards the individual, as exemplified by the search for a more "human" school as the *Gesamtschule* are reformed. "Not so much in their organization as in their emotional atmosphere," he said. The "opening of smaller, neighbourhood schools" was another manifestation of this trend.

In Britain, by contrast, the pendulum had started to swing in the reverse direction, according to Professor Margaret Sutherland of Leeds University, an advocate of civil education that encourages people to think for themselves. In a paper that moved from John Locke's emphasis on individual development to the concerns of modern prophets like Newsom, Crowther, Robbins and Rowden, Professor Sutherland urged much more fundamental research into the problems of developing rational judgment and of helping pupils to arrive at a good understanding of essential values.

"A society gets the citizens it deserves - citizens formed by the models working all concerned that we could guide the young in a better way than, as educators, we must consciously try to fight against certain influences in our existing society."

Professor Sutherland was elected president of the WAER until the association's next congress in Madrid in 1985.

People's eagerness to read between the lines of any announcement made by a respected Pole was illustrated at this month's World Association of Educational Research congress in Helsinki. A paper by Professor Emeritus Bogdan Suchodolski of Warsaw University was widely interpreted as a veiled criticism of the Jaruzelski regime.

In a philosophical exposition entitled *The pedagogy of hope*, Professor Suchodolski, a member of the Polish Academy, suggested what educators could do to help four afflicted categories of young people:

- Lead those seduced by consumerism to other values of life.
- Show those fascinated by modern technology the fullness of human existence.
- Save those who feel lost in the contemporary world from the disaster of alcoholism and drug addiction.
- Search for renewal with "choleric youngsters" who are in ideological revolt against a world in which "violence and falsity, hidden under noble slogans, destroy human values".

A British listener concluded that Professor Suchodolski was pointedly asserting values that were conspicuously absent in present-day Poland. A West German spoke of an "expressive, non-Marxist speech in which the orthodox Soviet bloc saw the professor as an idealistic and scholastic Western philosopher". Professor Suchodolski, who has never been a member of a political party, denied that his fire was directed specifically against the martial law authorities in Poland.

In an interview later he said he had wanted to exalt universal human values and appeal for another life style "here and now" that would challenge those whose only strategy was a materialistic conception of life. In concluding that modern civilization was at the crossroads, he was referring to the situation throughout a world in which one billion people were under-

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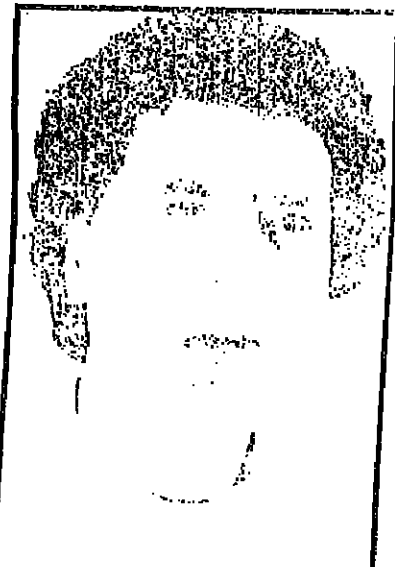
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John Davis looks at how Libyan tribesmen exert influence on the political life of the country

# Libya's tribes under Qaddafi's rule



Qaddafi: personal sovereignty

Early last year *Le Monde* reported that a Libyan tribe in the area between Benghazi and Sirte had applied to their government for compensation for lives lost fighting in Chad. It is tempting to think: backward tribesmen must be even more bewildered by Qaddafi than westerners are if they imagine they can regulate affairs with the state by claiming bloodwealth for their fallen conscripts. It is the sort of utopianism to be expected of a "tribe".

However, the people are not backward tribesmen: the inhabitants of Ajdabiya district supply manual and intellectual labour for two major oil terminals and their associated industries, as well as for the technological advanced desert agriculture scheme at Sarir. They are members of a district popular congress which discusses local and international affairs with authority and verve; some of them are elected to the popular committees which run most public services in the district - justice and water, electricity and health, schools and telegraphs (but not the police or military). Theoretically sovereign under the National Congress, the practical dependence of these 16 committees on Tripoli demands tact and manipulative ability in the local cadres. Ajdabiyaans are well-informed virtuosos of the short-wave band selectors, they cite *The Financial Times* in their opposition to the popular committee's foreign policy; in their tents, they discuss the virtues and defects of popular and parliamentary democracy, of military and proletarian dictatorship (matters of by no means purely theoretical interest).

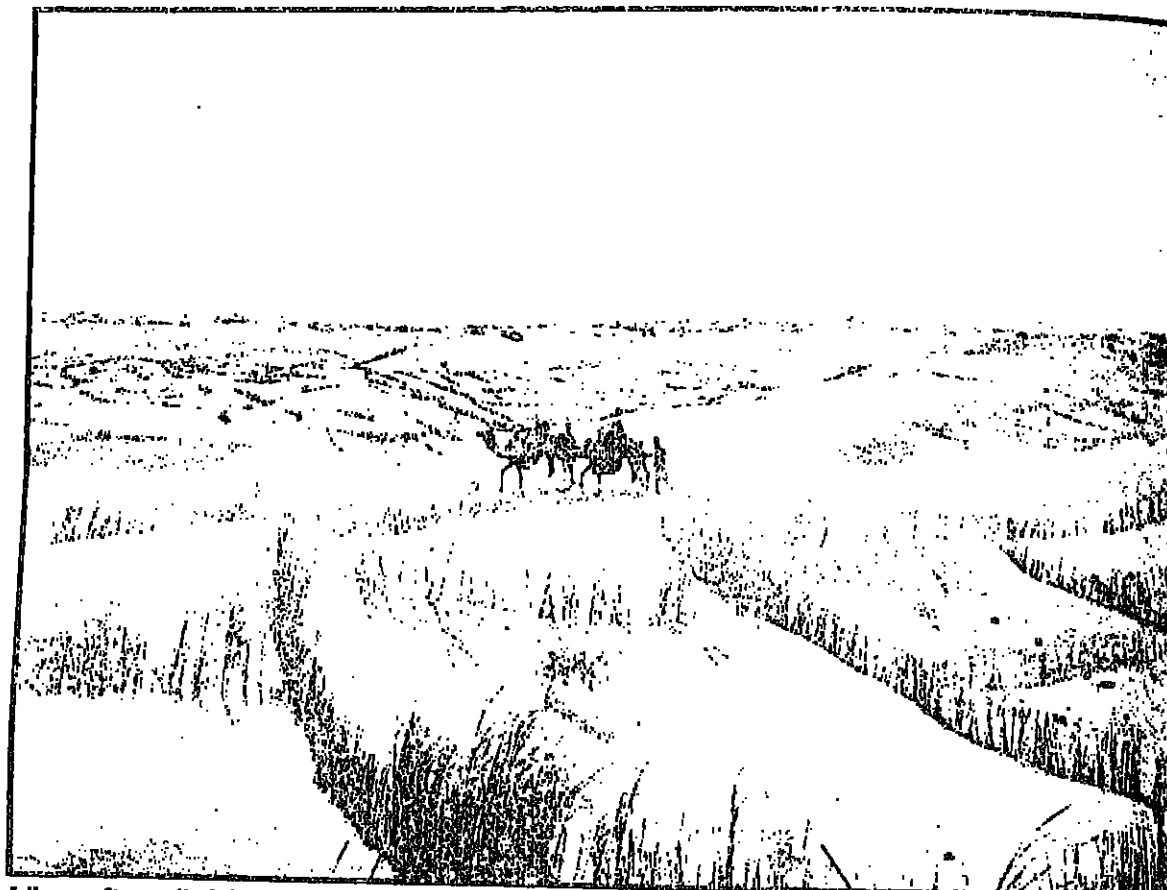
The claim for bloodwealth is one manifestation of quite another political idiom: that of stateless Bedouin whose law and order reside not in government, but in the ability of individuals to muster enough support to threaten any attackers to enforce demands for compensation. Loyalty in such mustering is demanded as an obligation of kinship: that is a principle which, however fictitious it may be, formally excludes any qualms about rewards for allegiance. For example, the Zuwaya, a tribe with about 20,000 members in Ajdabiya district, say they are the descendants of over 13 generations of "Hassan bin Nib" (an otherwise undocumented figure) and such common descent is the basis of claims on support.

It is a fairly unconstrained system of loyalties; indeed, when Zuwaya contrast their politics with those of states, they remark on this as an advantage. In states the points of articulation of sub-units, parish, town, constituency, nation, are offices occupied by living members of a stick-and-carrot controlling elite. In the Zuwaya image of free Bedouin society such points of articulation are

dead men, powerless to command. The idiom of descent is one which implies both statelessness and egalitarianism; and men who claim bloodwealth rather than, say, war widow's pensions do not therefore misunderstand the state, but contest it; they contest the claims on loyalty and the hierarchy and command intrinsic to states.

Inhabitants of small and middling places in Libya - not the cities - are tribal in political action, theoretical and practical sophistication in political discussion. For example, Ajdabiyaans fight elections in two major coalitions centred on the opposed Zuwaya and Magarba tribes: in 1976 the elections were marked by tension between the groups with Zuwaya youths masses outside the town hall as the committees met to elect their mostly Magarba chairmen. In 1979 there were riots and some injuries, part of the town barricaded to exclude non-Zuwaya, until the army moved in to keep public order and to supervise the election. In Kufra, 600 miles further south, where 11,000 Zuwaya dominate unopposed, elections are fought between sections of the tribe: the descendants of one of those of a third. In 1973, 1976 and 1979, there was almost complete renewal of committee membership drawn from opposed Zuwaya sections which alternate in power. It is not only voting which is sectional: you never hear talk about elections or electoral preferences which even imply policy issues. Zuwaya do not accuse outgoing administrations of peculation - division of the spoils matters - but with using unfair methods to dominate other sections. So, a man ousted from high office was not accused of incompetence, nor of greed, nor of policy mistakes, but of attempting to upset the balance of manpower by currying the favour of Tibbu, a black minority resident and despised in Kufra. Language and action in electoral politics are almost invariably based on assumptions about descent and kinship.

This is not the case with discussion of policy, of political philosophy. Such discussions vary in style, in degree of control; but to coincide with tribal divisions. At the Kufra District Popular Congress in 1979, for example, there was an item on the agenda prepared in Tripoli about the siting of a new small hospital. The Health Committee chairman proposed that it should be in an outlying oasis, near the new road still to be built to connect Kufra to the Mediterranean. So people spoke about the road as well as the hospital, and someone complained about the high cost of transport across the de-



Libya: often tribal in political action, sophisticated in political discussion

sert (from £900 to £1,200 for a 20-ton truck); and a trader and truck owner said it was cheaper than a wasteful government could manage; government garages were full of abandoned vehicles any private individual would repair. Discussion resumed, after a slight pause, when the committee chairman began to talk at length about the number of accidents likely on a road.

The site proposed for the hospital was potentially a "tribal" issue, since the inhabitants of the outlying oasis are all from one section of Zuwaya and would benefit more than residents of other similar oases. Indeed, one speaker tried to change the site to a more populous community; but the discussion ranged more widely, and touched indirectly on one of the burning issues of the day, the proposal in the recently published second chapter of Qaddafi's *The Green Book* to nationalize imports, to control and eventually to eliminate private traders. That issue remained covert partly because of the style of argument. Zuwaya do not argue publicly, in considered speeches about issues which closely affect their interests; even in more intimate surroundings such matters are dealt with by anecdotes, rhetorical questions, pithy interjections - a reticent style unsuited to amplified discourse. The chairman, with control over a greater number of microphones, can intervene to make lengthy and not always interesting explanations; members of the public have to queue for their turn to speak. Moreover, some people thought that an open attack on government policy would meet with official reprisals from secret and unknown agencies. The style of discussion is limited by the technology; the content of discussion is controlled, not by the chairmen, and by people's own self-censorship based on fear.

Private conversation is conducted in a lower key, by suggestion and by reference to unstated opinions or principles which a speaker imposes on his audience by assuming that they share them: one typical form is to ask rhetorical questions which provoke the comforting but not wholly logical answer "True". "Is this socialism?" "True, true." "How many broken-down landrovers are there at Sarir?" "True, true." The effect on a young cadre of the revolution, pouring water for his father's guests to wash their hands after a convivial dinner, is devastating. For the Libyan revolution did not result from a long struggle or march of anything other than Qaddafi's failure after some years in power to secure the policies of social renewal he had thought to introduce by coup d'état: the local leaders are young men with educational but no revolutionary credentials, educated in a system in which

respect for others, self control in the face of vagaries and error are important values, and restrain a man from brusque rebuttal of even stupid or ignorant guests and relatives.

Kufra is an important, though by North African standards, not a major, trading centre: it has a significant internal market, and is a crucial staging post for travellers into black Africa. Qaddafi's proposals to eliminate private commerce affected about a sixth of the men of Kufra directly, and were keenly discussed. So traders defended themselves as capitalists, which in fact they are not, excusing their profits as necessary for life, claiming that they were better at supplying a market than a socialist bureaucracy is.

For instance, the state importing agency neglected to buy "Brylcreem" (a term for any pomade) and one Kufra trader who had a case of it and for various reasons did not visit his shop for several months, saw its value increase five-fold. His pleasure at this windfall profit was increased by the use he could make of it in the after-dinner argument about socialism: he is right if such profits landed in his lap through government incompetence? It is a position which does contain certain inconsistencies, by which the speaker was additionally pleased; but it is unimaginable that any cadre within earshot could rebut it within the style and convention of after-dinner conversation, or that he could later go to his office to requisition the people's pomade.

To belabour an Islamic socialist regime for its Brylcreem policy, so to speak, is to accept the regime's de-finition of you as a capitalist: entrepreneurs are better at clearing a market at Tripoli. Within those terms nonetheless, Kufraans argue effectively by fair and foul means; no Kufra landowner had been expropriated; no business taken over by its workers; and the state consumer's co-op did relatively poor trade, even in staples. Kufraans, Ajdabiyaans are not backward tribesmen; their activities as traders and administrators, their political discussions are sophisticated and effective. So why do they vote on a tribal basis? Part of the reason is that policy issues in public debate are covert, to some extent from fear, but also because parties are forbidden: it is not legitimate, in contemporary Libya, to prefer a candidate or set of candidates because they advocate particular policies. The major principle of Qaddafi's "solution of the problem of democracy" is that representative systems are necessarily oppressive because they diminish the sovereignty of the individual: Colonel Qaddafi reads Rousseau, or at any rate resums of Rousseau, prepared by intellectual adjutants, and

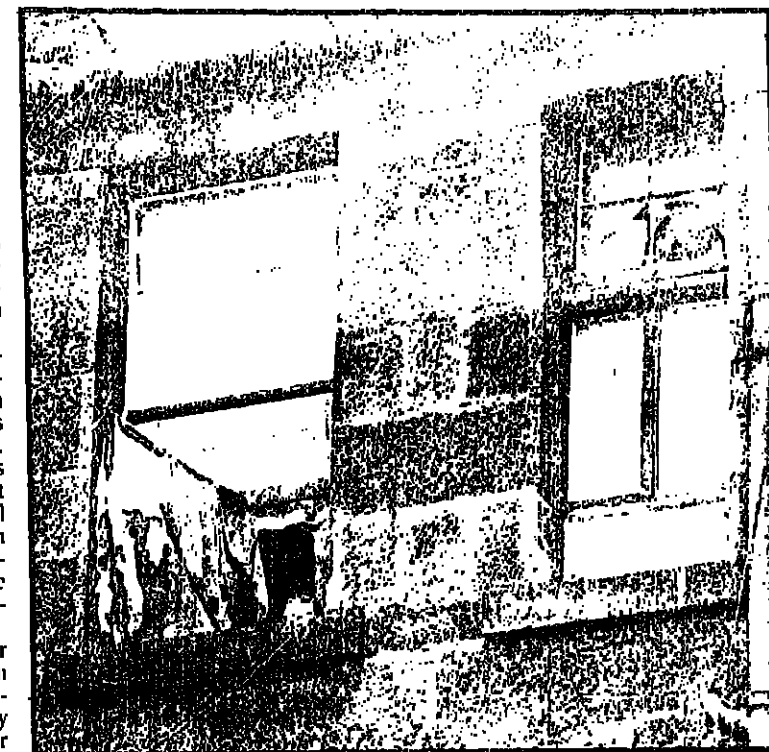
is influenced by him. But his emphasis on personal sovereignty is not merely a borrowing from western revolution: it strikes chords in harmony with a Bedouin self-image, egalitarian and stateless, in which law and order are the product of each man's ability to defend himself and his women and children.

The *Green Book* is Qaddafi's version of a golden age: government and the state are abolished, the people regain their sovereignty, no class or category or party dominates another. Through the army and police, budgets and agendas, the very terms of the debate are controlled from Tripoli. *The Green Book*, perhaps unwittingly, encourages the citizens of small to middling towns, such as Kufra and Ajdabiya, to act politically as if they had no recourse but to personal loyalties. Values and self-images are not detached entities existing in a vacuum, but carry with them certain typical forms of action; they are instituted. It is curious to read them in a green-print for the just Islamic society; surprising that a head (actually, formally, no more than "Guide of the Revolution") should advocate a system which draws so much on a tradition of statelessness. When Qaddafi asserts the compatibility of stateless politics with state organization and services (telegraphs and hospitals, electricity and education) he creates a system which indeed has inconsistencies and obscurities but which reflects some aspects of the experience and aspiration of many Libyans. Moreover, the system is the product of earlier failures to introduce change, using a more conventional apparatus - the bureaucracy Qaddafi inherited from his predecessor, a one-party system of political mobilization borrowed from his Arab neighbours and mentors. *The Green Book* is a practical document, born of frustration, attempting to circumvent the inertia of conventional administration. Read it as a treatise (one proposing that after the thesis of parliamentary democracy and the antithesis of proletarian dictatorship there must be some Green resolution) and it appears often ludicrous. Read it as a practical document and it makes some sense. But the appeal to each sovereign (male) individual to assert his rejection of the state has consequences which are probably not intended: the values imply courses of action such as tribal conflict at elections and demands for the payment of bloodwealth. Qaddafi, for all his "western" concerns, will not be able to overlook the particular and peculiar history of his nation.

The author is reader in social anthropology at the University of Kent.

# The scourge of urban blight

Britain's inner cities face a bleak future. Peter Jackson charts the background to increasing poverty, physical decay, street violence and racial tension



Some Glasgow tenement dwellers suffer appalling living conditions

Last year's riots in Brixton, Toxteth and other inner city areas throughout Britain brought urban problems back into the limelight and pushed them well up the political agenda. Urban renewal and inner city policies again became fashionable topics. Mr Michael Heseltine became Minister for the inner cities and added to his responsibilities as Secretary of State for the Environment the overseeing of policies for urban regeneration.

Inner city areas, such as Liverpool 8, have been in social and economic decline for the past fifty years. They have lost their manufacturing base and their economically active populations. These impoverished areas of the large conurbations contain a high concentration of people with the lowest skills and lowest incomes. Many of them are immigrants from the New Commonwealth countries and Asia who face problems of discrimination in the labour and housing markets, which trap them in a web of poverty and frustration.

The urban area and inner city debate is not new. It has been conducted over the post-war period in one form or another and its origins could be traced to the 19th century. However, 1968 is always regarded as a landmark. It was in that year that Enoch Powell made his controversial and highly provocative speech which prophesied "rivers of blood" if current trends in immigration from the New Commonwealth countries continued unchecked.

During the 1970s the urban/inner city debate concentrated upon urban deprivation, unemployment, industrial decline, urban decay, poverty and racial disadvantages. Earlier strategies which had included decentralisation and population dispersal were also critically reviewed.

In 1972 the Conservative Government commissioned a series of inner city studies. These, which reported in 1977, covered the immigrant districts of Brixton, Birmingham and Liverpool. The Labour Government in 1977 published its White Paper, *Policy for the Inner Cities*. This policy initiative sought to establish an integrated approach to social and economic problems in the inner cities through the coordination of policies implemented within a structure of corporate management.

Other policies thought up by town and regional planners in central and local government contributed to the decline of the inner city. Comprehensive development policies were designed to demolish massive areas of slum housing in the older cities of Glasgow, Liverpool, Manchester and Newcastle. As local authorities bought up urban land and private sector housing for redevelopment, the indigenous population were moved out to new housing estates.

The unintended death of many small, local businesses, swept away by the bulldozers, took away thousands of jobs which were vital to the inhabitants of the inner city. Such jobs had demanded low skills, were labour intensive, and provided employment for school leavers and married women. Many of these effects preceded the arrival of the bulldozers. To announce that an area had been designated for comprehensive redevelopment was enough to start the process of migration. Fear of compulsory purchase set people scrambling out of the area, stopped investment in industry and maintenance of residential property.

Local government ran out of money as successive central governments demanded public spending cuts. Vacant sites were left undeveloped, jobs disappeared and the skilled, economically active members of the local community moved out. They left behind the low-skilled, economically and socially disadvantaged members of society, many of whom were old and many others who were immigrant.

Cumulative urban decay, set in motion by uncontrolled market forces, was fuelled by the unintended consequences of government policies. Urban motorway systems designed to move people rapidly into, out of and through the cities killed off large strips of inner city land. Other areas which had been designated for urban road building remained undeveloped as the cash dried up. The policies of population decentralization became the problems of inner city decline.

move to the highly subsidized new towns. Firms wanting to move into or modernise buildings in the major cities were denied industrial development certificates and relocated on sites outside the cities in the specially constructed industrial estates. Development areas throughout the country were planned and industry was directed to them, lured by tax incentives and grants.

The social problems of long term unemployment, poverty, poor housing, a depreciating stock of public sector capital assets, lack of amenities, single parent families, homelessness and racial integration which faced modern society were concentrated in the inner areas of the major cities. Those who left the inner city in order to escape the problems of cumulative decay placed unintended costs on those who remained.

The composition of city populations was changing in other important ways. As the highly skilled moved into the suburbs, the number of low-skilled labour for the jobs which remained, like public transport, hospital portering, shopkeeping. These groups moved into the low cost, poor quality housing which remained in the inner areas of the city.

The central cities made excellent reception centres insofar as there was a supply of jobs requiring low skilled labour, housing was cheap and there was already an ethnic community which catered for their cultural needs. Over the period 1961 to 1971 London's total population increased by 11.5 per cent but its West Indian population increased by 80 per cent, while the Indian population doubled and the number of Pakistanis quadrupled.

The pattern of immigrant settlement did not produce ghettoes on the scale of American cities though immigrants did become concentrated in the most socially deprived areas. Not only did the immigrant populations face appalling living conditions, they were caught in a poverty trap. Despite two Race Relations Acts (1968 and 1972) immigrants are discriminated against in labour and housing markets. They are denied easy access to well-paid jobs because of language barriers, lack of skill, or the colour of their skin. Access to bank loans and mortgages is difficult, although the Asians have their own sources of finance.

Discrimination takes many subtle forms and recent studies indicate that it is more widespread than is often admitted. The Commission for Racial Equality has carried out studies which demonstrate that young people, if known to be black, will be told that a job vacancy no longer exists. Even employees of government Job Centres are known to be guilty of, racial discrimination. In

the decade 1961/71. Not only did the size of populations change but also their composition changed significantly. The economically active and the young in the age group 18 to 45 were those who moved out. Those who remained were the unskilled, the aged and the immigrants, all of whom were in low income groups.

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It was hoped to find if there was a clustering or a coincidence of these indices or if they were unevenly distributed among individuals. Given the usual caveat of the limitations of a study of this kind, certain firm conclusions could be drawn. The incidence of multiple deprivation occurred more frequently in inner conurbations than elsewhere. The geographic incidence of multiple deprivation was concentrated in Clydeside with the rest of Scotland scoring high. Inner London scored high on housing deprivation but relatively better on other factors.

Inner city partnerships between central and local government and private sector agencies were established in the mid-1970s to set up projects which would contribute to the regeneration of the inner city. Partnership projects, however, tended to be cosmetic - cleaning buildings, planting trees, or setting up playgroups. They were not wealth-creating, did not create jobs and came nowhere near to dealing with the problems of cumulative decay and multiple deprivation.

The partnership scheme was only one element in the Labour Government's programme for urban regeneration. A policy of "bending" main programmes was also pursued. Public spending on capital projects, especially housing, was targeted towards the inner cities. The Rate Support Grant was also redistributed towards urban authorities with the share allocated to the partnership authorities rising from 10.8 per cent in 1975/76 to 12.1 per cent in 1979/80.

The election of a Conservative Government reversed this bias towards the metropolitan areas and the partnership authorities. Spending cuts on social services, education and housing have fallen heavily on local authorities which contain most of the inner cities. These local authorities were deemed to be over-spending and risked losing their grants back in an attempt to get them to conform to central government policy.

In total, the inner city local authorities have done badly out of the Conservative Government. The bending of main programmes has been stopped. Rate Support Grant cuts have been heavy as have cuts in the HIP allocation. While the urban aid allocation has been increased it is small relative to these other cuts, and the cosmetic programmes it is used for do not compensate for the vital services which have been cut.

In conclusion, the future of the inner cities looks bleak. Without a rapid economic recovery, without the creation of new jobs and without a



Police clash with youths in Brixton change in discriminatory attitudes, the future for the young school leaver looks pessimistic. Poverty, physical decay, and multiple deprivation in the absence of increased public spending are likely to worsen. But increases in public spending are unlikely to take place until the economy grows again.

These problems are not confined to the inner city areas. They are undoubtedly concentrated there but they are spread throughout the country. The regeneration of the physical capital stock and the alleviation of multiple deprivation depends crucially on the success of the Government's economic strategy. Unfortunately there are no signs that this will happen on a large enough scale to ensure that last year's riots of 1981 never happen again.

The author is director of the public sector economics research centre and head of the department of economics at Leicester University.



A nation is not a state, though the growth of states and the growth of nations are processes closely interconnected. A state is a legal organization, a hierarchical apparatus of order, coercion and obedience.

A nation is a community of persons linked by consciousness of a common culture, a common history, mythology (compounded of truth and fantasy) and belief in a common origin, which demands - or accepts the leadership of an elite which demands on its behalf - political recognition.

This may require no more than a limited autonomy within a state that contains several such communities; or it may amount to outright sovereign independence; or the aim may be unity within some new state framework with other communities from one or more other existing states.

Not every cultural community is a nation. Language groups, religious groups or folkloric groups with no political pretensions have existed side by side within states for long periods. The transformation of politically passive cultural groups (which sociologists prefer to call "ethnic groups" or "ethnies") into nations is both a political and a social process, a diffusion of ideas and a development of new social classes.

The process can be roughly dated, but to pinpoint its successive stages is easier in very recent than in earlier periods. The best description of the process, in my opinion, is "formation of national consciousness".

Certain forces can at once be noted which have strongly influenced the formation. These are language, religion, historical memories, economic interests and the growth of social classes and state structures. Not all have operated in all cases, but some have always been present. The relative importance of each has greatly varied.

The process has spread, and its speed has greatly accelerated, in the last 200 years; and there is a clear connexion between this acceleration and the impacts of the American and the

or, to whom lip-service had been paid during the Middle Ages.

The process is commonly described by British historians as "the rise of the nation-state". This is, I suggest, a serious and harmful misuse of language. The process was the rise of the sovereign state; the secular ruler claimed to be sovereign, responsible only to God, with no mortal intermediary above him.

Some of the new sovereign states were coextensive with the homelands of nations; this was true of England (though Welsh and Irish were also subject to the King of England), and France (though how far the people living south of the Loire belonged at that time to the French nation, and how soon they came to form part of it, is open to argument).

It became true later of the northern half of the partitioned Netherlands, and of Denmark, Sweden and Portugal. These may justly be called not only sovereign states but also nation states. This latter term is however quite inapplicable to Spain, or to the sovereign states, some of them extremely strong, which emerged in Germany and Italy, or to Poland or Hungary.

The confusion between sovereign state and nation state, which has arisen from a misleading universalization to the whole human race of the experiences of a few north-western peoples, and of their offshoots overseas, has become so widespread that it is probably unrealistic to plead for more precise use of words.

For example, the phrase "across the nation", much used in American political journalism, uses "nation" as a geographical term, denoting the broad mass lying between the north Pacific and north Atlantic. The League of Nations was an association of states, and the United Nations ought to be called the Disunited States.

The gradual emergence of nations through the growth of the monarchical power and the diffusion of a standardized language should not be regarded as inevitable processes. In the twelfth century there developed in the south-west of France a special culture distinct from that of the lands north of the Loire. Since this culture was linked though not coextensive, with the spread of the Cathar or Albigensian heresy, the expansion of northern French power at the expense of the south-west could be represented as a Crusade on behalf of the true faith, and was so accepted by the Pope.

In defence of his own sovereignty the Count of Toulouse, the most powerful ruler of this region, made an alliance with the King of Aragon. The allies met the northern army of Murq in 1213, and were defeated. Languedoc was united with France, and became increasingly assimilated.

If the Battle of Muret had gone the other way, the history of Europe might have been very different. Perhaps the French nation, as we know it, would never have come into being, and a strong state stretching from the Ebro to the Rhone, defended by Catalan sea-power, would have played a major role.

In the event, great cultural differences persisted between north and south-west, and reappeared later during the conflict between Catholics and Huguenots. Henri IV, a *bourgeois* Protestant who became King of France, decided that Paris was worth a mass, and who reunited, centralized and strengthened a country shaken by religious wars, is conventionally held to be a great French patriot and national hero, but Occitanian nationalists see him as a deserter, who went over to the imperialists from north of the Loire.

It is also not necessary that there should be a difference of language between two communities in order that they may become two nations. In the sixteenth century there were two sovereign states whose language was English, and within each of which a distinct nation was being formed.

However the language was unmistakably developing in different directions in the two. In 1600 English and Scottish poetry were distinct from each other. The educated elites which formed the market for literature were small in both countries, but much smaller in Scotland, in which a very high proportion of them consisted of persons connected with the royal court. When James VI became James I of England, he and his court moved to the more agreeable and more cultured southern environment.

In his reign there appeared the English version of the Bible, which was accepted also in Scotland. The result was that Scottish literature, deprived of its market and challenged by the marvellous language of the Authorized Version, dried up.

Scottish institutions, spoken dialects and national consciousness remained. One may speculate that if the union of the Crowns had been postponed 100 years, and a Scots Bible had been prepared meanwhile, Scottish and English would have grown as far apart as Danish and Swedish. But the absence of an effective language difference did not diminish the fact that English and Scots were two nations, and so remained after the two states were united in 1707.

Two nations of Eastern Europe - Poles and Hungarians - developed on the other similar lines: the growth of the state and the language played a dominant part, but membership of the nation was strictly limited to the noble class. In the other small nations of the Danube and Balkan regions, and of the west and south of the Russian empire, the process was different. There is a tendency among Anglophone histo-



Serbian columns in retreat from the battle of Kosovo

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# The history of nations

Hugh Seton-Watson argues that nationalism is not a by-product of class conflict but something deep-rooted

rians to a kind of cultural taxonomy, in which "western" or "Atlantic" nations are assigned to different genus, or a higher order, than the nations of Central and Eastern Europe. The rise of the first group to national consciousness is seen as a progressive phenomenon, the result of admirable economic and cultural processes, whereas the members of the second group are depicted as tribal, backward, chauvinist, eternally quarrelsome, their national passions an obstacle to progress.

But whether or not some of these epithets be justified, the true division is not between "western" and "eastern" nations. The significant difference is whether state and nation were formed together, or the state before the nation, or the nation before the state. English, French, Scots and Danes grew into nations parallel with the growth of their states. Dutch, Swedes and Portuguese became nations after their states had been created by armed struggle. The peoples of the Habsburg Monarchy and Ottoman Empire became nations with once strong multi-national states whose strength was declining; and struggled, with fluctuating foreign help of various kinds, to create states of their own.

But the phenomenon of a nation formed within a multi-national state is not a feature of one restricted geographical region, as the modern history of Irish, Bretons, Basques, Catalans and even Occitanians can show. Equally, the creation of a state before there is a nation within its borders is not a specifically western European phenomenon: it occurred in the Americas between a 150 and 200 years ago, and in sub-Saharan Africa in recent times.

New states face the formidable task of creating a new nation where none exists. The Italian statesman of the Risorgimento, Massimo d'Azeglio, expressed it in a famous phrase: "We have made Italy: now we must make Italians." But difficult though the task proved to be in Italy, it was much more difficult in Spanish-American, and is even more complex in Africa.

In states of several cultural communities, the main forces in the formation of national consciousness - which has meant the transformation of merely multi-cultural into multi-national historical mythology.

Where the religion of a subordinate cultural community has differed from the religion of the rulers, religious hierarchies have played an important, though passive, role in the process. The Orthodox Church, through its organization allocated to it by the Sultan under the  *millet*  system, preserved the historical memory and culture of the Balkan Christian peoples.

The Catholic Church similarly preserved those of the Poles, the Irish and the Quebegeois. Something rather similar occurred with the Muslims in the Volga valley, in Algeria or in parts of British India.

These hierarchies however gave little encouragement to political nationalism. As ideolo-

gies derived from the European Enlightenment, liberalism and democracy were suspect to them. They did not feel inclined to exchange the sort of relationship which they had with their infidel or heretical rulers for the uncertainties of some democratic republic. The Orthodox Greek hierarchy had long been inclined to see in the Sultan a protector against the hateful schismatic Latin West.

The Catholic hierarchy of Quebec maintained a sullen hostility to Anglophone influences and devotedly upheld the Frenchness of its flock; but it regarded the imperial government of Queen Victoria as definitely preferable to the impious republics which prevailed in the land of its origin and in the land to the south of its borders. Even in Poland and in Ireland the leaders of the church believed in rendering to Caesar the things that were Caesar's.

The growth of national consciousness coincided with the increased importance of language. The Balkan Orthodox became divided by language into Greek, Serbian, Romanian and Bulgarian nations. In Bohemia the formation of new intellectual elites through the schools of the Josephine reforms, resulted in the appearance not of one but of two nationally conscious groups: Germans and Czechs.

**We have Karl Marx, a great man who lived in Victorian England to thank for manipulation of the term bourgeois**

The creation of an Uniate Church in Transylvania under Leopold I made possible the emergence of a Romanian intellectual elite. Under Austrian rule the Ukrainians of eastern Galicia had similar opportunities, while in the Russian Ukraine a few great literary figures, above all the poet Shyrenko, created a standardized Ukrainian literary language. The rise of a Slovak nation in what had simply been northern Hungary can be quite clearly linked, from detailed documentation available, to the discussions among a small number of intellectuals, mostly priests or pastors, about the creation from several popular dialects of a literary language.

Similar development can be observed among Lithuanians, Estonians, Volga Tartars and others in the Austrian and Russian empires. Language was also of great importance in the

rise of Turkish and Arab nationalism.

However, language did not in all cases replace religion as the decisive factor in national consciousness. A common Serbo-Croatian language was established in the nineteenth century, but Croats and Serbs remained two nations. Though the murderous struggles between these two in the twentieth century were based not on religious disputes but on secular nationalist aims, yet the distinguishing mark between them has remained religious. Croats being Catholics and using the Latin alphabet, Serbs Orthodox and users of Cyrillic.

Irish nationalists at the turn of this century made great efforts to bridge the religious divide by reviving the Irish language. But though citizens of the Republic learn Irish at school, very few use it in adult life, while the division of Irishmen by religion remains as bitter as ever. By contrast, the efforts of Zionists to create a living modern Hebrew have been successful, and those who have grown up in Israel use it as their native tongue.

Where the language group was identified with the nation, insistence on the language as the foundation of nationality implied intolerance of other language groups within the national territory. The earliest outstanding example of this was Hungary, where in the period of Dual Monarchy from 1867 to 1918 great efforts were made to incorporate Slovaks, Romanians, Serbs and others in the Hungarian nation by the diffusion of the Hungarian (Magyar) language.

Essentially the same policy was pursued from the 1890s onwards in the Russian Empire, and was known as "Russification". It occurred in most of the succession states between the world wars, especially in Poland, Czechoslovakia, Romania and Yugoslavia.

More recently it has appeared in Ethiopia, where one may speak of "Amharisation" at the expense of Somalis, Eritreans, Galla and others, whether by Emperor Haile Selassie or by his quasi-Marxist successors.

The growth of national consciousness and nationalist movements is connected with the rise of social classes or groups. The formation of the older European nations correspond roughly with the rise of a landed nobility (in Poland), or a state bureaucracy (in Tudor England or seventeenth century France) or a merchant class (in Holland).

In the case of the small nations of Eastern Europe the most active social element were those whom I would call the "language manipulators", members of professions of language. Grammarians, compilers of dictionaries, collectors of folk-songs, as well as poets, journalists and lawyers provided most of the founders of the national movements.

It is misleading to speak of "bourgeois" or "middle class" leadership of these national movements. If by "bourgeois" is meant businessmen, then it is not true: these nations had very

few capitalists, and they played very little part in the early stages of the movements. If by "bourgeois" or "middle class" is meant a more or less homogeneous social and cultural stratum, united by a *bourgeois* ethos, as understood in the West, the answer is that no such category and no such ethos existed in that part of Europe except in Bohemia.

Among these sub-category which played a decisive part in the process of which I am speaking were the language-manipulators. The misuse of "middle class" - in the singular - and of *bourgeois* can be very misleading, and it is a result of an Anglocentric deviation for which we have to thank primarily not any Englishman but a great man who lived in Victorian England, and assumed that its development was to be the model for all societies: Karl Marx.

National movements enjoyed sympathy in England in the age of Kossuth and Garibaldi, but they became ever more distasteful as they turned away from liberalism. The *Manifesto* of Central Europe between the wars was often met with a heavy and nationalist fanaticism leading to its climax in the totalitarian regime of Hitler. Essentially, for the National Socialist Volk had taken the place of God, and Hitler personified this quasi-divine force.

In the other form of totalitarianism, it was Class that was defied, and the embodiment of the Proletariat was the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party, and especially its infallible leader. The dislike of the English for nationalism had very good grounds, especially as the English had not known their national identity to be trampled on by a conqueror. Unlike most continental nations they did not have this experience even in the second world war.

In the 1960s some Englishmen displayed enthusiasm for the nationalism of Asians and Africans, but the motive force was usually not so much a liking for nationalism as a guilt complex about the British Empire. The predominant view of English intellectuals is probably that nationalism is a nuisance, an obstacle to progress, a product of economic causes, not an autonomous phenomenon in human affairs but a perversion of stupid minds unable to see basic realities.

Americans are even less inclined to treat nationalism as a serious force. The United States were a political and ideological programme before they were a state. The peoples of colonies, seeking to liberate themselves from empires, have enjoyed American sympathy, and were expected to follow the American example, setting up their new states on the basis of high ideological principles.

Dr Sukarno was expected to be the George Washington of Indonesia. Not only in his case were disappointments occurred. Two widespread American beliefs, arising from their own experience, deserve brief mention. One is the belief that separatism must be wrong. Ojukwu of Biafra and Tsionbe of Katanga were seen as African versions of Jefferson Davids.

The second belief is that the natural and progressive trend is for "ethnic groups" to be absorbed in larger state frameworks. The United States rather successfully absorbed its "ethnic groups" - Slovaks, Armenians, Greeks, Italians and many others. Americans therefore tend to expect the same thing to happen in other large states with people of many languages.

Americans seldom understand the difference between ethnic groups and nations. Slovaks in Pittsburgh, separated by thousands of miles from their land of origin, and eager to be brought into the American nation which attracted them or their parents to emigrate, can be fairly easily absorbed into a society and culture which had its own well formed character before they arrived, though of course they and the millions of other immigrants have gradually been modifying that character, and will continue to do so.

But for compact blocks of population, living in their own homeland, with their own culture and traditions - Albanians in Kosovo, Hungarians in Transylvania or Kazakhs or Tartars in the Soviet Union, to take a few examples at random - the situation is quite different. Obstinate defence of their national identity, and resistance to uniformizing pressures from the central government are a major part of their life.

One view which is very widespread in western countries, both Anglophone and other, is that nationalism is a product of the capitalist stage of human history, and will disappear under socialism. This is difficult to discuss, because "socialism" can mean so many things. One certainly cannot be sure that some future utopian socialist order will not appear, under which all national conflicts will be overcome. But if we look at the historical experience of the relations between socialists and nationalists, and at the operation of what is called "actually existing socialism", some degree of scepticism is in order.

From the conflict between nationalism and socialism became sharper and more prominent. Socialists and nationalists shared a common enemy: the ruling classes of multi-national empires, whether created by overseas colonial expansion or by overland military conquest or by dynamic marriages in centuries past.

To nationalist intelligentsias the socialists seemed to be playing the enemy's game by dividing the emergent nation according to class. Among the Muslim peoples of Soviet Central Asia there was no *samizdat*, no public interest in ideas subversive of the Soviet regime, but

interpenetration took place, as movements of each type took over large parts of the others' aims, so that socialism became nationalized and nationalism socialized.

And indeed the only victories by revolution of movements declaring themselves to be socialist resulted from massive exploitation by those socialist leaders of the emotions of the nationalists in the Russian empire, China, Yugoslavia, Vietnam and Albania. In the first case it was not Russian nationalism but the national aspirations of the non-Russian peoples which Lenin exploited. In the other four cases the communists successfully presented themselves as champions of national liberation.

I have already mentioned the two quasi-religious totalitarian doctrines and regimes based respectively on the *ersatz* god Nation and the *ersatz* god Class, and on the personal apotheosis of the infallible spokesman of each. Though their formal doctrines remained diametrically opposed to each other, they had in common with each other a good deal more than their methods of repression. From the point of view of the victim the difference between the arrogant imperialism of Russians extending over conquered nations the empire of true socialism, and the arrogant imperialism of Germans extending the empire of the thousand-year Third Reich of the German Volk was of rather secondary significance.

Movements for national independence since 1815 have been influenced in turn by liberalism, moderate socialism, fascism and Marxism-Leninism. This need not surprise us: all that it means is that nationalists embarking on the struggle for power pick up the slogans and the rhetoric that is fashionable at the time, and that they tend to ape the gestures of those foreign rulers who are enemies of their own foreign rulers.

Thus in the 1930s and the second world war militant Arab nationalists whose enemies were the British and French looked to Mussolini and Hitler. To take one example, the Mufti of Jerusalem visited German-occupied Yugoslavia and delighted his hosts by urging Bosnian Muslims to slit Serbian throats. After the defeat of Hitler, for a short time America seemed a more powerful patron; but the ever closer association of the United States with Britain and France, and the predominance of the Soviet Union as their enemy caused nationalists to transfer their hopes to Moscow.

Nationalist movements in Africa, appearing on the scene a little later were attracted in the same direction. Marxist-Leninist slogans replaced fascist slogans, but underlying emotions were unchanged. It became more and more difficult for outside observers, and probably for the nationalists themselves, to draw a distinction between nationalist and socialist elements in their outlook.

However, in one context one can use the word without danger of misinterpretation. "Actually existing socialism" simply the form of government and society existing in the Soviet empire and its dependent states. In these lands there exists a commonwealth of "socialist nations". In the past there have been "gentry nations" (or excuse me nineteenth century Poland, whose national movement was led mainly by members of the gentry), and "*bourgeois* nations" (for example the Czechs whose leaders were middle-class professors and lawyers), but since the Great October Socialist Revolution the working class has been in power, and the different nations of the Soviet Union have grown up under socialism. These nations then are "socialist nations", whose inherent nature causes them to regard each other with brotherly love. In a famous speech in 1972 Brezhnev declared that "the national question" had been definitely solved in the Soviet Union.

The official Soviet doctrine is based on real facts. It is true that the leaders of these various nations were once gentry or middle class, and that the leaders and the whole educated elite of the non-Russian nations of the Soviet Union and of the East European countries today consist overwhelmingly of children of workers or peasants.

However the conclusion that nationalist sentiments and national conflicts have now been eliminated is another matter altogether. Expressions of national discontent, and *samizdat* with a national flavour, frequently occurred in the 1960s and 1970s. They were regularly dismissed in the Soviet media as "remnants of capitalism" and "bourgeois nationalism", last flickerings of a dying social order; but they looked as if they had stronger and deeper roots.

Among the Muslim peoples of Soviet Central Asia there was no *samizdat*, no public interest in ideas subversive of the Soviet regime, but

there was a persistent social and cultural separatism, an insistence on preserving the Muslim way of life, in the cities as well as in the villages, and a rate of population increase more than double that of the Russians. In Eastern Europe the national feeling of the socialist Polish, Hungarian, Czech and Romanian nations appeared not very different from that of earlier times.

The repeated movements of opposition in those countries started always as movements of social reform, not of nationalism; but Soviet intervention to suppress them always produced anti-Soviet or anti-Russian nationalism, not much different from the anti-Russian nationalism of the days of the Tsars.

Suppressed national consciousness leads to militant nationalism, and this can be very dangerous. It was a major cause of both world wars, especially the first. A sort of conventional wisdom has grown up about the war of 1914. The war, it is often argued, was a pointless slaughter, imposed on the innocent peoples of Europe for absolutely no morally valid reason by the greed of imperialists and the vanity of rulers.

A varied team of villain-scapegoats are paraded before our eyes: frivolous Austrian aristocrats, idiot fanatical Serbian students, insatiable bankers in London, pan-German industrialists, obsessive French *revanchistes* and their Russian bureaucratic puppets, callous monned generals and greedy way profiteurs.

The Anglocentric variant is that war was brought about by rivalry between British and German capitalists and imperialists. The patriotic version puts the blame on Tirpitz, Krupp, the All-German League and their like, the inverted patriotic on the City of London, the Admiralty, the Empire and the Tuttle Liberal politicians. Patriotic and inverted patriots in Germany have the same villains the other way round.

But it was not these things which produced the war. War came because the rulers in Vienna believed that Serbian agitation was a mortal danger to the whole multi-national Habsburg empire, and because the Serbian government and the Serbs in Austria were determined to be united. This was no matter of frivolous Viennese counts and crazy Bosnian students.

Austrian statesmen saw with deep anxiety the prospect of complete collapse of an empire and a culture which had been the heart of Europe for 300 years; and 40 years after it did in fact collapse we are still able to judge what Europe did indeed lose. The Serbs believed passionately in the right of their small Orthodox people, which had fought its way out of Turkish bondage only to have half its numbers seized by Austria, to be united; and in our age of claims for national liberation, espoused by liberals and socialists all over the world, it is difficult to see why that Serbian claim should be regarded with contempt.

But the Austro-Serbian conflict was only a part of a much wider scene. The inextricably interconnected national and social discontents of the nations of Central and Eastern Europe made the whole of Austria-Hungary, most of European Russia, the Polish portion of the German empire and all the Balkan states, a politically explosive region.

I am talking not of some petty Ruritonia but of half the land mass of Europe and perhaps 100 million people. That Prinsip shot Franz Ferdinand was an incident. But the volume of unresolved and perhaps insoluble national and social discontents was no minor detail. The peoples were not innocent, nor were they guilty, they were the stuff of which the conflicts were made.

Nationalism is neither good nor bad; in conflicts between nations there is good and evil on both sides. National identity and national culture, pride in language, historical achievement, historical mythology and religious belief - or an ethos derived from a religious past - are at least passively treasured by nearly all citizens of modern societies, even if they do not know it.

Attempts to destroy or pervert one national culture by rulers of another, even if justified by high-sounding ideological principles, are always dangerous, and let loose passions which harm both the suppressors and the suppressed. Any country in which such attempts are made, remains in an explosive condition, dangerous even to others living afar who have no direct part in the conflict.

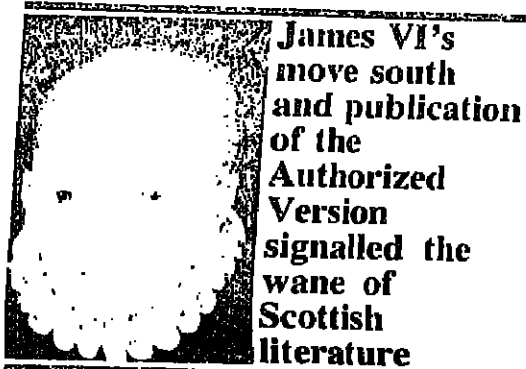
Devotion to a national identity is not a temporary by-product of class conflict or economic frustration, though either of these can aggravate it, but something deep-rooted, which has to be respected if the human race is to escape disasters.

These words may sound very odd to inhabitants of a rich and hitherto secure country, who have not known foreign conquest for 600 years or more, who have never known what almost all continental Europeans knew between 1940 and 1944, and many in half of Europe still know. English and Americans find this very hard to grasp; they need to make a big effort to do so. If they do not grasp it, it may not be so long before they have the experiences which it has been their good fortune hitherto to miss.

The author is professor of history at the University of London School of East European and Slavonic Studies. This was a special faculty lecture delivered in Oxford at the invitation of the Regius professor in April.



**Peoples of colonies were expected to follow the American example. Dr Sukarno was to be the Washington of Indonesia**



**James VI's move south and publication of the Authorized Version signalled the wane of Scottish literature**

French revolutions. National movements, nationalist doctrines and new states have proliferated since then.

First came the new states in the Americas, from which nations did not emerge until much later, and perhaps have still not emerged in certain cases; then the new states in the European territories of the Ottoman Empire, united Germany and united Italy, and the new or enlarged states that succeeded the Habsburg monarchy.

National movements appeared at the turn of the century in some Muslim lands and some South Asian colonies, but it was not till after the second world war that a great number of Muslim and Asian states emerged. Sub-Saharan African nationalism flowered and made its appearance after the war, and African new states proliferated in the 1960s and 1970s. Only in the great Soviet Russian land empire have national movements not been tolerated and no new states created.

However, the formation of national consciousness can be seen long before the age of the democratic revolutions. The outstanding examples are England and France. In both cases the fourteenth century seems to be the crucial period; the Hundred Years' War, itself in no sense a nationalist war, yet accelerated a development which had begun earlier.

In England the two decisive factors were the growth of the monarchical power and the growth of a new language - English - the result not so much of the adoption of French loan words by Anglo-Saxons as of the flowing together of two streams, one Anglo-Saxon and one Norman-French, into a mighty river.

The adoption in the reign of Edward III of English as the language of the law and of Parliament was an event of symbolic significance. The translation of the Bible, and the publication in English first of religious and then of secular literature, enormously enriched it; and together with the new language a new nation came into being.

The period of growth of maturity of the English language coincided with its promotion by, and perhaps itself promoted, the consolidation of the English state. A similar process took place in France, though there language had a smaller part to play, since a post-Latin romance speech had established itself north of the Loire centuries earlier, and did not need, as English did, to digest two distinct vocabularies.

The formation of the English and French nations was connected with a more widespread process, which gathered momentum in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. This was the rejection by the monarchs of Europe of the universal authority of the Pope and the Imper-

John Co Life



# BOOKS

## 'My songs were coarse, they vowed'

by Nigel Reeves

The Complete Poems of Heinrich Heine: a modern English version by Hal Draper  
Oxford University Press, £20.00  
ISBN 0 19 815785 1

To have translated Heine's entire poetic production into English including all the late poetry, the epics *Atta Troll* and *Germany* and even the early verse tragedies *Almansor* and *William Ratcliff* was a monumental task and the English-speaking world owes Hal Draper a great debt. The lifespan of this remarkable translation will certainly surpass the thirty years which he has devoted to this exceedingly difficult undertaking.

Heine has of course been translated before, notably in the Heinemann edition of 1907-8 and in Louis Untermeyer's selection of 1937. But never before has the full range of Heine's achievement been available, the writer of folk-song and ballad, of satire and humorous verse, of verse tragedy and epic, of elegy and the profound lyric of the mattress-grave years. Heine the irreverent yet exquisitely shrewd commentator of nineteenth-century Germany has long been the subject of major investigation among Germanists of the English-speaking world, even at times when he was proscribed or simply shunned in his own country. Now for the first time, we have an edition that makes Heine available to the non-German reader in a way that will allow both sensitive response and informed comment.

It was Hal Draper's intention above all that his reader should be enabled to "approach Heine as an experience in English". He expressly states that his version is not intended for students of literature. Indeed the notes and variants he offers, together with the most useful index of German titles and first lines, are evidence of a concession. But the best tribute one can pay to this edition is to say that the translations capture in most cases so utterly the spirit and form of the original that they are of great value also to the critic of literature. Indeed so much so that I regret that Mr Draper did not add to the scholarly apparatus more specific references to his German sources - Elster, Walzel, Briegleb, the *Duesseldorfer Ausgabe* and *Saekularausgabe* - to enable us to trace without detailed personal investigation which edition he has followed in establishing the sequence of certain lesser-known cycles of collections.

Certainly Mr Draper has not been afraid to use his own judgment also, as can be seen most strikingly in his ordering of the last poems, unpublished in Heine's own lifetime, according to themes which he imaginatively titles "Poems for the Times", "Fables for the Times", "People of the Times", "The Retrospective Eros" (including those oddest of erotic poems "Citronia" and "Contribution to Teleology"), and "Thanatos" (the poems about death written in the mattress-grave that remind us in many ways of Baudelaire). Finally, Mr Draper has grouped together in two collections Heine's poems to his wife Mathilde and to his last beloved "the Mouche". This re-ordering itself will add momentum to the revival of interest in Heine's last period as his greatest lyrical achievement, a reputation that Elster effectively stifled for years when in the second volume of his critical edition of the 1890s he offered only an arbitrary jumble of those poems that had not appeared in the major collections.

But the Heine who made the first vivid impression on me in his new English clothes is the satirist of German life. Here in Mr Draper's version are those strophes from *Germany: a winter's tale* that remained so indelibly in Marx's mind:

On feather beds like ours one can sleep well and dream even better.



Heine on his death-bed, 1856.

It's here a German soul feels free  
From every earthly fetter...  
The land is held by the Russians  
and French,  
The sea's by the British invested;  
But in the airy realm of dreams  
Our sway is unconcealed.

And of the nineteenth-century German's famed obedience to authority we read in "Promiscue":

You'll get foud and even booze -  
You've great prospects, on the level,  
Just don't let some foreign devil  
Tempt you to extremist views!  
Just don't get too hard-and-fast, or  
Fail to show enough respect  
For officials - genuflect  
When you meet the burgomaster!

If anything the version of "The Silician Weavers" of 1844 with its increased use of the present participle is still more dynamic than the original:

In somber eyes no tears of grieving;  
Grinding their teeth, they sit at their weaving;  
"O Germany, at your shroud we sit,  
We're weaving a threefold curse in it -  
We're weaving, we're weaving."  
"A curse on the god we prayed to,  
With cold in our bones, with hunger reeling;  
We waited and hoped, in vain persevered,  
He scorned us and duped us,  
We're weaving, we're weaving!"

## Le temps retrouvé

Proust: collected essays on the writer and his art  
by J. M. Cocking  
Cambridge University Press, £27.50  
ISBN 0 521 23790 4 and 28799 5

Since the mid-fifties when J. M. Cocking's monograph on Proust was first published, Proust studies have been busy and fertile. George Punter's biography and Philip Kolb's edition of the "Correspondance" have, notably, both clarified and complicated the still-controversial issues of textual archaeology and chronologies of composition; while the new criticism has found malleable raw material in Proust's evasions, artifices and games with the concept of fiction. This new collection, containing both Cocking's 1956 monograph and reviews written since, is a sceptic's counterblast to the gigantic claims and radical reinterpretations.

Like M. H. Abrams in his battles with the Deconstructionists of

But Heine ridiculed hypocrisy and laid bare inhumanity wherever he sensed it. Thus prays the Dutch captain of a slave ship in one of the late poems as he tries to prevent the spread of typhoid among his black cargo by whipping them to frenzied dance upon deck:

And diddlelumdlee and tantarara -  
They dance without stop or stay,  
At the foremost stands Myneker van Koeck  
And he folds his hands to pray:  
"O spare their lives for Jesus' sake  
Who did not die in vain!  
For if I don't keep three hundred head  
My business is down the drain."

For eight years until his death in 1856 Heine was confined to his bed, his mind lucid but his body racked in pain from a syphilis of the spine. It was now he wrote some of his finest poetry - poems addressed to Mathilde his wife such as the renowned:

I was, my lamb, ordained your ward  
Your shepherd on this earthly sward...  
The scanty sands in the hourglass flow,  
They run and will not stay,  
Sweet angel, wife whom I love so,  
Death's tearing me away.

What he found most difficult to forgive oncoming death was the removal of his sense of fun and humour. Yet even at the moment of reproach it bubbles irrepressibly forth:

Romantic criticism, Cocking puts the scientist's emphasis on an artist's congenience; he cannot accept the idea of an "overdetermining unconscious" or "chain of signifiers". Cocking's tone is ironic, understated, witty, impatient of mysticism, championing the *via media*. Inevitably, there are elements such as a temperament undervalues - I miss the Proust of the *four rires*, the abundant comic genius, for example. "Proust's novel", he writes, "seems to grow more and more like his Albertine: the publicly perceptible through the private dreams and meditations of its lovers". Yet for all the well-placed cold war is Cocking is, like Proust himself, interested in everyone and everything. Part of his knowledge that *A la recherche du temps perdu* is a work that can infinitely and mysteriously recreate itself in the light of many various "dreams and meditations".

Cocking's original monograph still reads impressively, although I wonder whether, as the blurb claims, it is "fully accessible to the newcomer" (Roger Shattuck's book, an enthusiastic review of which is included here, is probably more encouraging.

Permit me, Lord, I'm shocked at this,  
I think you've made a blunder:  
You formed the merriest poet and now  
You rob him of his good humour.  
The pain has dulled my sense of fun,  
I'm melancholy when sick;  
If there's no end to this sorry jest,  
I'll end up a Catholic.

Like other good Christians, I fill  
your ears  
With wails - if I persist,  
O Miserere! You will lose  
Your very best humourist!

I have quoted liberally, and without reference to the German, because this alone can illustrate to the new reader of Heine the autonomy of Mr Draper's versions and to Heine's old friends his remarkable re-creation of tone, and above all metre and rhyme. I am convinced that Mr Draper was right to try to produce in every case a form as like Heine's as possible. But this placed him effectively under a quadruple constraint - to render the original meaning in its often multiple stratification, to try to reflect Heine's ubiquitous word play and still to stick to a metrical rhythm and to a rhyming pattern close to Heine's own. To fulfil all four requirements in every case must be beyond anyone's powers and is a graphic example of translation as "the art of the impossible". Let us take *Charles I* as an illustration of how the need to choose a translation of a key lexical item (*Koehler* = charcoal-burner) following the same syllabic pattern of the original removed at least two layers of meaning.

Charles I is running from his pursuers and sheltering in a charcoal-burner's hut. He sits rocking a baby there and imagines that one day that child's axe will turn from trees to the neck of kings:

In May, the magic month of May,  
When all the buds were springing  
Into my heart the burning  
Bright arrow of love came winging.  
Here the difficulty appears to be to preserve the rhyme and assonance within a highly limited syntactical and semantic structure -

*Im wunderschoenen Monat Mai  
Als alle Knospen sprangen,  
Da ist in meinem Herzen  
Die Liebe aufgeflogen.*

Unfortunately that goal cannot justify the introduction of an extraneous image - the burning arrow - which quite overloads the delicate simplicity of the original.

But it is churlish to end on a note of criticism when discussing what must rank as one of the century's great translation achievements. Let Hal Draper not have to feel in any way that he has to fear the carping voices that constantly arraigned Heinrich Heine:

To be sure, the eunuchs grumbled  
When I raised my voice aloud;  
They grumbled and they mumbled,  
My songs were coarse, they vowed.

Nigel Reeves is professor of German at the University of Surrey.

to the faint-hearted). One issue is particularly lucidly handled - the literary influences on Proust's development. Cocking writes that "few minds have been more generously nourished than Proust's upon the substance of other minds", and he goes on to show how crucial was Ruskin's "applied idealism", as it embodied and realized the transcendental refuge of art which Proust found in Emerson and Baudelaire. He outlines those surprising parallels with *The Mill on the Flaxs*, a book Proust once claimed to love more than any other, and he challengingly compares Proust's and Flaubert's aestheticism and "spiritualization of sensuous experience". Against this, Cocking underplays the idea that *A la recherche* fulfils a great Bergsonian philosophical thesis - the synthesis of *Le Temps retrouvé* is described as "slight-of-hand", "a kind of trick".

The interest in the artistic inspirations of Proust's work gets a little out of hand in two substantial essays on music and painting. In his relentless search for the "sources" of *Vinteuil's petite phrase*, Cocking seems to forget the implications of his own warning that "in his thinking about the influence of other people's visions, Proust's focus is always the development of his own creative powers". Proust is the only true composer of *la petite phrase*, but Cocking worries the issue to the point of pedantry, ploughing through a vast number of compositions before coming to rest in D'Indy's analysis of Franck's Quartet - which there is no evidence that Proust ever read.

The last section of this collection is taken up with Cocking's collected reviews of "Landmarks in Proust Criticism". This is fascinating both as a catalogue of recent critical trends (through existentialism, psychoanalysis, semiotics, and intertextuality) and for many incidental insights, yet it is ultimately too fragmentary to be completely satisfactory. Some of the pieces are scarcely a few hundred words long, and of little value in themselves. A single continuous survey of these books within a larger context would have made a more substantial impact. In any case, one hopes that the *oeuvre* is not complete: perhaps one day Professor Cocking will give us his reflections on another startling and unmentioned parallel to *A la recherche* - Wordsworth's *The Prelude*.

Rupert Christiansen  
Rupert Christiansen is working on the new "Oxford Companion to Music".

# BOOKS

## Unpopular front

Workers and Communists in France: from Popular Front to Eurocommunism  
by George Ross  
University of California Press, £22.50  
ISBN 0 520 04075 9

Since 1945 the CGT, *Confédération générale du travail*, the largest trade union organization in France, has been under the firm control of the French Communist Party (PCF). A few symbols of union independence have been maintained, but neither the handling of non-Communists on executive committees, nor the official respect for the syndicalist Charter of Amiens changes the reality of party control of union activities for party objectives.

The Communist Party "took over" the confederation to use it as a "transmission belt" for influencing the opinions and guiding the actions of the masses of shop-floor workers. Maximizing the value of this, however, has proved more difficult than might be imagined. To be useful to the party the CGT must be a large and successful trade union organization and it must have an independent identity. This is especially true as anti-Communism is very strong in France, not least among parts of the working class, the socialist party and the rival trade unions. In practice, the relationship has been exploited in different ways over the years and it is the evolution of the use of Communist power from 1932 to 1978, which Professor Ross has analysed in this fascinating study.

While the Communists were part of the Tripartite Government (until May 1947) the confederation strove to keep the workers at work, despite some clear signs of mass discontent. By the winter, as a result of its firm support for Moscow, the PCF was out of office, isolated and unpopular. Meanwhile the CGT had turned to encouraging the resentment of the workers and was leading a large-scale strike movement. However its blatant and unpopular support for the Communist party was too much for many members of the confederation. Some defected to set up a rival, anti-Communist federation, the *Force ouvrière*, and the CGT membership slumped from 5.7 million in 1946 to 3.1 million in 1951 (both optimistic CGT figures) a decline which continued in the 1950s.

The journey back in from the cold was long and tortuous, as Ross describes with care and detail. In the 1950s there were some signs of a more cautious use of the CGT link, in 1956 for example, the PCF gave its usual enthusiastic support to Moscow - over the Soviet invasion of Hungary - but the confederation took no public stance on the issue. By the 1960s the Communists and socialists were back in alliance to support Mitterrand in the 1965 presidential election. The confederation, which had gained respect in leading a miners' strike in 1963, signed a "unity in action" pact with the growing and radical CFTD (a group of ex-Catholic unions) in 1966.

Except for a few months after May 1968 the PCF seemed to become more liberal and election-minded (albeit rarely anti-Soviet), while the CGT, appearing more independent of the Communists and concentrating on labour market issues, saw its membership begin to grow again.

In 1977, however, the left-wing alliance fell apart. In March 1978, the pieces were scattered by the "snatched defeat from the jaws of victory" in the general elections, and a period of intense policy debate began within each party. Unfortunately in 1978 the outcome was far from clear. Ross leaves us with the image of the CGT at its fortieth congress when its Communist leader Séguy proposed a major democratization of union structures. Séguy seems to have envisaged an "Italian" strategy of liberalizing the confederation to bring about a democratization of the party.

As we know now, such a reversal of the "transmission belt" was not to occur; the Communists reimposed tight discipline in their own ranks and over the

confederation. In 1980 and 1981 the unions were again mobilized to support Communist policies - over Afghanistan and Poland and to back George Marchais's election campaign. The results speak for themselves: since 1978 the CGT has lost 400,000 members (its own figures), faced major setbacks in elections to factory councils and four national leaders have resigned. In June 1982 at its forty-first congress in Lille, the confederation rewarded Séguy for his 1978 error by giving him early retirement. The party's choice for his successor - the hard-line Krasucki - was duly elected by the delegates.

These recent events are interesting as they raise some doubts about two of Ross's arguments. He argues that the confederation experienced periods of relative autonomy of action, and that ideological debates (the "pauperization" theory of the 1950s and the "state

monopoly capitalism" theory of the 1960s) had considerable influence on the outcome of policy debates and power struggles. Both arguments seem exaggerated in the light of the recent past.

The long delay in publication means that recent research (notably by Robitoux, Lavau, Johnson and Eisenhammer) which complements and updates Ross's work is not cited. These are minor quibbles, however, for Ross has provided a well-written, interesting and useful book for historians and students of politics and industrial relations.

Howard Machin

Howard Machin is lecturer in French government at the London School of Economics.

## The road to the Gulag

Pawns of Yalta: Soviet refugees and America's role in their repatriation  
by Mark R. Elliott  
University of Illinois Press, £11.90  
ISBN 0 252 00897 9

Allied judges at Nuremberg always refused to accept the pleas of Nazi defendants that they would not be held responsible for acts of barbarism committed under orders from their superiors. However, American personnel who sent Russian prisoners of war to a grim fate in the hands of the Soviet authorities were expected to put discipline before conscience. They, too, became the abettors of unjust imprisonment, deportations and executions.

About five million Russians were in German hands at the end of the war: some were prisoners of war; most had been sent to Germany as forced labour. Over two million of them ended up under the auspices of the British and American occupying forces, who had the invidious task of deciding upon their fate, for large numbers of these prisoners did not wish to be returned to the Soviet Union. Despite Stalin's promises of warm rehabilitation, they knew that their probable destiny lay in exile, the Gulag, or even in front of a firing squad. Stalin's determination to secure their wholesale repatriation, they realized, stemmed from his adamant refusal to believe that Russians could prefer life in the West. And as long as one Soviet citizen remained outside Russia's borders, he served as a living rebuttal of Stalin's claims for a contented society.

The plight of the two million Soviet displaced persons (DPs) has already been vividly chronicled by Nicholas Bethell and Nikolai Tolstoy. We already know how these victims of war became victims of Cold War diplomacy in 1945. Now Mark Elliott, in an exhaustively researched and well-written book, has uncovered new evidence to illustrate America's role in their forced repatriation. He shows that American officials, both in Germany and in Washington, were aware that the vast majority of the Russians in their care did not wish to return home. But it was 1945 and Americans, like all other belligerents, had become hardened to the scars and tragedies of war. They wanted a speedy political settlement and a neat resolution of the refugee problems. They were afraid that American prisoners of war, taken by the Germans, and now behind Russian lines, could become political hostages. Above all, members of the State Department believed that acts of good faith by Americans could break down the suspicious character of Soviet society. So accession to Stalin's requests for the return of the refugees was regarded as a vital symbol of cooperation. Thus did the million Russian DPs become "pawns of Yalta", human bargaining chips in the diplomatic warfare of 1945.

Nine tenths of the Soviet prisoners were sent home in the first five months after V-E day. However, repatriation slowed down after Novem-

ber 1945. Exemptions were made and more onus was placed on the Soviet authorities to show that the former prisoners had voluntarily aided Germany. But this slowing down was simply too late. By December 1945 over two million refugees had been returned and a scant 20,000 remained in Allied care. American officials latched on to their cautionary directives to convince the public (and no doubt their own consciences) that they had not been accessories to these "settling-up". But in Elliott's words, "No conclusion can be drawn but that an array of high-level spokesmen, including majors, colonels, generals, even one cabinet-level secretary, knowingly misled the nation in their public statements on American repatriation policy". Their pangs of guilt were hollow and, worse, too late.

Elliott is appropriately outraged, though he is, perhaps, a little harsh on the State Department. Americans sincerely tried to convince themselves that Stalin's cruel paranoia could be abated through sympathetic cooperation. The "pawns of Yalta" were precisely that. In the year Dresden, Tokyo, and Hiroshima were razed and the gates of Belsen and Theresienstadt were opened, some faith was necessary. American leaders simply could not believe that the road to Gulag was so short and un-congested.

Robert Garson  
Dr Garson is lecturer in American studies at the University of Keele.

## Princes, autocrats, tyrants

Personal Rule in Black Africa  
by Robert H. Jackson and Carl G. Roseberg  
University of California Press, £17.50  
ISBN 0 520 04185 2

Political scientists too readily reduce their subject to the study of institutions, in part no doubt because much of politics in well-established industrial states is concerned with the control of organized political structures and mechanisms, in part because institutions provide a framework through which political activities can be compared and analysed, and thus made the subject for "science".

Politics without institutions is on this view scarcely politics at all, merely the arena for an unstable and unceasing war of every man against every man. Yet the states of black Africa are by no means so unstable as their almost universal failure to develop effective political institutions might suggest. Many of them - Guinea, The Gambia, Senegal and Ivory Coast in West Africa, for instance, Kenya, Tanzania, Zambia and Malawi in the East - are still ruled by the men who came in at independence, or their constitutional successors.

Others, such as Benin, Sudan or Zaire, have settled down after early turbulence under men who have now been in power for ten years or more. This is not because they have developed effective institutions, far from it, but because they have come

under the control of skilful leaders. This book is the first to look at African rulers, and to ask how they exercise power, and what effect their varying approaches, ideals, and levels of personal honesty and ability have had upon their subjects.

Jackson and Roseberg (it is agreeable to find Professor Roseberg, immeasurably the senior author, placing his name second on the title page) firmly conclude that rulers do matter; the fate of African states in the two decades or so since independence has been affected not simply by social or economic variables, but by conscious political choice. A valuable opening chapter on "political system of personal rule" captures the essence of personal government: its dependence on the ruler's skills (Machiavelli being much in evidence here), its manipulation of factions and followings, its vulnerability to plots and coups, and the problems of securing the succession.

The authors then distinguish four contrasting styles of personal rule: the Prince, the Autocrat, the Prophet and the Tyrant. The difference between the first two lies in their treatment of their subordinates. The Princes - Senghor, Kenyatta, Tubman, Houphouët-Boigny, Nkrumah, Sekou Toure, Nyerere - seek to lead their people towards some ideologically defined goal, while the Tyrants - Mobutu, Amin - subordinate all to their own often bloodthirsty whim.

Handy though they are as pigeonholes into which to slot case studies of individual rulers, these categories do not constitute any systematic typology of leadership styles, and the classification of individual rulers may at times owe something to a need to even out the numbers in each chapter - to class Nkrumah as a Prophet, for example, does call for some taking of the wish for the deed. The case studies themselves are variable; that on Kenyatta is excellent, and East Africa as a whole is covered well while some of the others become little more than potted histories of the countries concerned.

Two interesting categories of leader are left out of account. The first, the revolutionary Marxist, call ostensibly at least for the institution of a new political order in which personality should have little place, and the question of whether these are in fact "personal" rulers like a Kenyatta or a Nkrumah is a touchstone for their success. The second group are the failures. Five of the 17 leaders considered in some detail were forcibly ousted, but even the least successful of these held power for between eight and nine years. What are we to make of an Ironsi, a Limona, or a Lumumba? Were they incompetent, and if so, what mistakes did they make? Or were they plain unlucky? We would learn much about what makes personal rule work by looking at the cases where it didn't.

A disappointing concluding chapter considers the prospects for institutional government; an overambitious aim, since while types of personal rule may depend on individual rulers, personal rule in itself must surely be the product of the social, economic and historical circumstances of African states which he beyond the scope of this book. But this should not detract from the value of a book which takes a fresh slant on African politics, and uses it to illustrate aspects of government which other studies have tended to ignore.

Christopher Clapham  
Christopher Clapham is senior lecturer in politics at the University of Lancaster.

Policy and Politics in Contemporary Poland: reform, failure and crisis is a collection of essays designed to provide a logical explanation of events in Poland since the summer of 1980. It is edited by Jean Woodall, and published by Frances Pinter at £15.95 and £6.95.

## On party lines

The Strategy of the Italian Communist Party: from the Resistance to the Historic compromise  
by Donald Sassoon  
Frances Pinter, £15.00  
ISBN 0 86187 203 7

In Italy party alliance strategy is a matter of continuous debate as well as practice: of all the Italian parties, the Communist Party (PCI) is the one with the most clearly articulated, long-term strategy.

This was highlighted by the "historic compromise", the proposition by Enrico Berlinguer, party leader since 1972, for a broad alliance including the Communists and the ruling Christian Democrats. Although it dominated attention in Italian politics for several years, the "historic compromise" has now been abandoned and the PCI, back in opposition after a brief period of policy pact with the government, is seeking to re-define its role.

Donald Sassoon has provided a perceptive and erudite analysis of the PCI, the main value of which from the point of view of current developments is to identify various long-term patterns in the elaboration of the party's strategy - its evolutionary nature and slowness in reacting to events, and its ambiguous features - which are still evident today. It is essentially a historical study, concentrating mainly on Togliatti's leadership during the first two decades after the war.

According to Sassoon, one should be "struck by the relative continuity" in the party's strategy over thirty years, but what does that actually mean? The PCI appears to follow the communist tradition of demonstrating that new policy statements confirm with the previous party line, although the author's close examination reveals a certain ambiguity in the PCI's presentation of its strategic course. The need to avoid open confrontation with Moscow was well as to soothe certain sections of the party rank-and-file has precluded any abrupt revisionism.

Sassoon illustrates this particularly well when looking at the period from the mid-1940s to 1956, when Khrushchev's denunciation of Stalin provided Togliatti with the opportunity to make explicit the "Italian road to socialism" he had in fact been pursuing previously but in a muted personality should have little place, and the question of whether these are in fact "personal" rulers like a Kenyatta or a Nkrumah is a touchstone for their success. The second group are the failures. Five of the 17 leaders considered in some detail were forcibly ousted, but even the least successful of these held power for between eight and nine years. What are we to make of an Ironsi, a Limona, or a Lumumba? Were they incompetent, and if so, what mistakes did they make? Or were they plain unlucky? We would learn much about what makes personal rule work by looking at the cases where it didn't.

A disappointing concluding chapter considers the prospects for institutional government; an overambitious aim, since while types of personal rule may depend on individual rulers, personal rule in itself must surely be the product of the social, economic and historical circumstances of African states which he beyond the scope of this book. But this should not detract from the value of a book which takes a fresh slant on African politics, and uses it to illustrate aspects of government which other studies have tended to ignore.

The question of continuity in PCI strategy is assumed rather than discussed for the years after the mid-1960s and Berlinguer's role as a strategist is ignored. Has Berlinguer lacked Togliatti's stature and tactical skill in developing the party line? Sassoon seems to suggest this when he comments that none of Togliatti's successors could rival his ability to "move towards new territory while maintaining a continuity with the past". It would have been worthwhile elaborating on this point. Furthermore, not enough is said about the PCI's external policies. The impact of the cold war is discussed when looking at the 1950s, and there is a sketchy chapter on "Eurocommunism", but the close links between the PCI's domestic and foreign policy are hardly pursued.

Geoffrey Pridham  
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# BOOKS

## Out in the open

Philo-Semitism and the Readmission of the Jews to England 1603-1655  
by David S. Katz  
Oxford University Press, £17.50  
ISBN 0 19 821885 0

In December 1655 Oliver Cromwell opened a conference at Whitehall to consider the readmission of the Jews to England, over three centuries after their expulsion by Edward I in 1290. The immediate background to the conference was the determined campaign for readmission by the Dutch Jew, Menasseh ben Israel, who spent two years in England urging his cause. The participants at Whitehall however failed to reach agreement and Cromwell, disappointed, felt unable to change official policy. Nevertheless the episode proved a turning point, for Cromwell subsequently convinced at Jews living openly in London (whereas earlier Jews had been obliged to live precariously in the guise of foreign, usually Spanish, Catholics).

The Whitehall Conference forms the climax of David Katz's scholarly, well-written and often entertaining book. His main concern (though it is to trace the many varied elements in the philosophical climate of mid-seventeenth-century England, which made the mission possible. One was the search for the original language of mankind before Babel, reflecting more than mere antiquarian curiosity. The original was by definition the perfect language, and its words were believed to have contained the very essence of the things they described. This search became linked, naturally, with the schemes of language reformers for a universal tongue. Katz shows, delightfully, that both Chinese and Dutch had their champions as the language of the Garden of Eden and so, it might be added, did Welsh, but that Hebrew had conquered the field by mid-century.

Another chapter traces early Judizers such as John Trask, a convert to the Jewish Sabbath who caused further scandal by "theeing and thooing" James I in 1618 in the manner of the later Quakers. The scholarly search for the Lost Tribes of Israel forms another intriguing by-way: the possibility that the Jews might be found among the native peoples of America had occurred to Christopher Columbus, who took a Hebrew-speaking interpreter with him, and it provided an additional stimulus to the Puritan evangelists of New England. The debate on the principle of toleration added further dimension in the 1640s, when radicals could urge freedom for Jews along with "Turks, ... Pagans, and Infidels". Most important of all was the eschatological excitement of the Civil War period; the calling and return of the Jews formed an integral part of the events leading to the Second Coming or to a millennial age on earth. Ought not the second elect nation (the English) to show kindness to the first? Was it not likely that God intended the Jews to be converted by the Protestant English rather than by ungodly foreign papists?

These elements combined to produce a climate which prompted Menasseh's mission, encouraged by enthusiasts such as John Dury, the champion of religious reconciliation. But alas, the prospect of real Jews in England proved far more divisive than speculation about ancient Israelites. The merchant group at the Whitehall Conference claimed that Jewish competition would undermine their profits and position. Some clerics were alarmed at the blasphemy of allowing Jews to practise their faith in a Christian country, and demanded rigorous controls to pressure them into speedy conversion. Philo-Semitism indeed stimulated antisemitism: ancient legends circulated once more of the murder of Christian children by medieval Jews, alongside vulgar beliefs that "the Jews stink" and that they were

sexually voracious. The traditional arguments against Jewish settlement were assembled and published with typical speed and energy by William Prynne, helping to divide and confuse educated opinion and to ensure the conference's failure.

But it was perhaps for the best that national policy was not left to Puritan enthusiasts, for most of whom readmission and toleration were mere steps towards the Jews' conversion. The conference did establish that there was no law against Jewish residence in England, and we should search the way for the policy of unofficial tolerance adopted by Cromwell and later Charles II, both more tolerant than their subjects on this and other religious issues.

### Bernard Capp

Dr Capp is senior lecturer in history at the University of Warwick.

## Footnote artistry

England in the Fifteenth Century: collected essays  
by K. B. McFarlane  
Hambledon Press, £15.00 and £5.95  
ISBN 0 9506882 5 8 and 907628 01

K. B. McFarlane died in 1966 leaving a comparatively small body of published work but a reputation as the outstanding historian of late medieval England of his day. Since his death this reputation has been confirmed by the publication of some of his lectures and essays, and even more clearly by an unprecedented quantity of scholarly writing - some of it directly and much of it indirectly stimulated by his method and example. Few scholars have had so decisive an influence on the direction of historical studies of any period - certainly none whose own published work was so small.

The present volume is a collection of those articles he published between 1944 and 1965 which have not since been reprinted. Although the publishers nowhere explain the editorial method, the texts have been reset, with consequent changes in the footnote numbering and references, and an index has been added, although this is not comprehensive. Otherwise the articles appear to be as McFarlane left them. Dr G. L. Harriss contributes a useful introduction surveying recent work in the field.

The papers can be divided into two groups, though all share many general characteristics. The majority develop out of the analysis of a small group of documents which not only present problems to be solved but set up in the author's mind a series of connections with major themes of the period. In the process of solving the problem the writer asks subsidiary questions arise which in their turn demand extensive research. Thus the illustrious footnotes which not only illustrate the extent of McFarlane's reading in printed and unprinted material but also provide the opportunity for developing minor arguments and solving these subsidiary questions, often turning on the identification of individuals or the nature of the sources, without interrupting the flow of the main argument. McFarlane was a master of the footnote.

These papers are, of course, detailed and specialized but their appeal lies in the fitness and thoroughness of the working-out, the intellectual powers exemplified in the analysis of a mass of information and the lucidity of the final creation, whether it takes a mainly narrative form as in "A Business Partnership in War and Administration", a mainly analytical form as in "The Investment of Sir John Fastolf's Profits of War", or a combination of both, as in "William Worcester". These are not the raw materials of historical scholarship but a form of the historian's art on which McFarlane clearly lavished great attention.

Not that he was unwilling to generalize. The most famous of the articles here reproduced - "Bastard Feudalism", "Parliament and Bastard Feudalism", "The Wars of the Roses" - provide a series of analyses of the nature of aristocratic society

and politics in the late Middle Ages which have formed the basis of much later work. These, too, are based on meticulous research into the sources but judgments on general issues abound, often expressed in eminently quotable phrases (as examiners have appreciated). There is also much candid criticism of work which did not match up to his standards: one eminent contemporary is accused - typically in a footnote - of writing a paragraph "sufficed with the purest moonshine".

McFarlane certainly had his own prejudices but in these articles at least they take the form of an impartialness with the generalizations and clichés which in his view had distorted real understanding of fifteenth-century politics and society. Although his impatience sometimes makes him overstate his case these articles were a very salutary corrective and remain so. His own ideas on a number of topics changed during his lifetime and it is not at all surprising that, as Dr Harriss points out, later research has called into question some of his judgments. It is rare indeed, however, for serious factual error or misinterpretation of a source to be found in his work.

McFarlane's book on John Wycliffe and his chapter in the *Cambridge Medieval History* show that he was capable of thinking and writing on a larger scale. For historians of his sort, however - and they include some distinguished examples - "small is beautiful", and it was these articles which fired the imagination of those scholars who did not have the benefit of direct inspiration from the master.

### Robert Virgoe

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## Ahead of his time

Lord Ripon 1827-1909: a political biography  
by Anthony Denholm  
Croom Helm, £12.95  
ISBN 0 7099 0805 9

The subject of this new biography went under a number of different styles. Starting life as Frederick Robinson he became successively Viscount Goderich, Earl of Ripon, Earl de Grey and Marquess of Ripon. Born during his father's brief premiership, he entered the House of Commons in 1852 and joined Palmerston's government in 1859. Thereafter he held a succession of important offices with considerable distinction, finally retiring from Asquith's administration in 1908. This is no mean career, and yet Ripon has been largely neglected, and where he has been mentioned, his part in events has been widely misunderstood. Anthony Denholm suggests that to no small extent Ripon's earlier biographer, Lucien Wolf (1921), may be responsible for his misunderstanding.

Whatever else may be said about Ripon, Anthony Denholm makes it very plain that he should not be labelled with that awful word "Whig", and then be expected to line up with other "Whigs" in subsequent controversies. In the vast majority of battles in which he was engaged, Ripon was a man with ideas ahead of his time: a very attractive personality, moved throughout his long career by deep sympathy for the poor and oppressed; certainly not a "Whig" in the pejorative sense in which the term is commonly used.

Throughout his career, Ripon was associated with many "advanced" causes: trade unionism and Christian socialism in the early 1850s, the candidature of the first working man who ever sought election to Parliament, the cooperative movement, the secret ballot, universal education, redress for the many wrongs of Ireland, and so on. His services were practical as well as theoretical. In Denholm's view, he saved Forster's Education Act from "strangulation". His work during the Alabama negotiations with the United States was of great importance, setting a splendid precedent for the use of impartial adjudication in international disputes.

An introductory chapter, by L. A. Clarkson, traces the growth of wage labour between 1500 and 1800, thus establishing the base from which a labour movement could develop. This is followed by a chapter on trade unionism up to 1840; a discussion of the issues raised by E. P. Thompson's *Making of the English Working Class*; and a succinct account of Chartism. The remaining five chapters take us chronologically through the well-known episodes in the history of nineteenth-century trade unionism, the rise of socialism



Mexican women boxing cigars at the Kohlhberg Cigar Factory in El Paso, 1915. The picture is taken from Alan P. Garcia's study, *Desert Immigrants: the Mexicans of El Paso 1880-1920* (Yale University Press, £7.50).

Denholm calls his biography "political", and thereby excludes a close study of Ripon's personality. That is rather a pity; for on matters like his conversion to Rome in 1874 no line can be drawn between Ripon the man and Ripon the politician, and it would be useful to look rather more closely into his deepest motivations.

Fortunately, the many contemporaryaries who saw Ripon's change of faith as the end of his public career were wrong. When Gladstone returned to office in 1880, Ripon became Viceroy of India. Denholm goes a long way towards vindicating his bold claim that Ripon was "by far the most radical of the Liberal party's spokesmen on India... between 1859 and 1909". Ripon was, moreover, largely responsible for India's first factory legislation, and fought hard to ensure that railways were built to save the country from famine rather than for strategic reasons. With less success, he battled for full equality between the native and white races.

In his later career, Ripon remained on the "radical" side of his party. A convinced Home Ruler, he willingly joined Gladstone's third government, and did not defect at the end. He opposed the great power of the "Chartered Company", and was abused as a "pro-Boer" in the South African War. One of his last official duties was to introduce the Liberal old age pension proposals into the Lords.

This well-written work will change the views of many people about its subject, and those who refer to Ripon in future will find it worthwhile to give careful attention to Anthony Denholm's powerful arguments.

### Roy Douglas

Roy Douglas is senior lecturer in history in the department of general studies, University of Surrey.

## Workers' history

The English Labour Movement, 1700-1951

by Kenneth D. Brown  
Gill & Macmillan, £20.00  
ISBN 0 7171 0870 8

This useful book is the latest contribution to the rewriting of labour history. It is not so solid or statistical as E. H. Hunt's *British Labour History, 1815-1974* (1981), but is more substantial than David Kynaston's *King Labour* (1976).

An introductory chapter, by L. A. Clarkson, traces the growth of wage labour between 1500 and 1800, thus establishing the base from which a labour movement could develop. This is followed by a chapter on trade unionism up to 1840; a discussion of the issues raised by E. P. Thompson's *Making of the English Working Class*; and a succinct account of Chartism. The remaining five chapters take us chronologically through the well-known episodes in the history of nineteenth-century trade unionism, the rise of socialism

in the 1880s, the emergence of the Labour party, and the subsequent events of the 1920s and 1930s. A sketchy postscript brings the story down to 1951.

Starting from the generally-accepted orthodoxy of the Webbs and G. D. H. Cole, Kenneth Brown maintains the broad outline of their historiography but updates it in the light of later research and interpretation. Indeed, the notes provide a guide to all the recent major secondary material bearing on the subject. The result of this revision is to move away from the old, institutional idea of the history of the labour movement towards a history of working people.

Inevitably when a new book on labour history appears one looks to see how the author handles the traditional debates and key issues; in this respect Brown's conclusions are eminently sensible and crisply presented. For example, the relative social harmony of the period between the end of Chartism and the rise of the modern socialist movement still puzzles those historians who are not content to put it all down to "Victorian prosperity". Brown examines various theories and concepts which have been put forward to account for this state of affairs. It has been suggested that once the working class was incorporated into the national political structure by means of extending the suffrage it became more reconciled to the status quo.

Theories of a labour aristocracy, bourgeoisieification ("the British working class is becoming more and more bourgeois", complained Engels), respectability, and social control have also been advanced. Brown analyses the limitations of such approaches and comes down in favour of an explanation based on "the simple passage of time"; in other words, by the 1860s there were many fewer people who had suffered directly in the social upheavals of the industrial revolution.

Brown rightly sees the replacement of the Liberals by the Labour party as one of the great themes in early twentieth-century working-class history, but does not add anything new to the debate as to why this came about. Perhaps a comparative view from American labour history would have helped here. The 1926 General Strike is often portrayed as a turning point in labour history, but Brown prefers Black Friday in 1921, when the union leaders pulled back from supporting the miners. "In 1921 the union leaders went voluntarily to the brink, did not like what they saw, and pulled back. In 1926 they were dragged over the top by circumstances they could not control, and scrambled back to safety as soon as they decently could." On the 1930s he is critical of left-wing historiography which has created something of a myth of the left's golden age.

Here, as elsewhere, he prefers to emphasize bread-and-butter issues as perceived by working people themselves. Without this regard there can be no real understanding of the history of the English labour movement.

J. F. C. Harrison

J. F. C. Harrison is professor of history at the University of Sussex.

# BOOKS

## Island universes

The Expanding Universe: "astronomy's great debate", 1900-1931  
by Robert W. Smith  
Cambridge University Press, £19.00  
ISBN 0 521 22121 0

Thomas Wright and Immanuel Kant were the first to suggest publicly that spiral nebulae might be independent systems of stars similar to, but far beyond, our own Milky Way galaxy. In the early years of the twentieth century this view became known as the "island universe hypothesis".

When, in 1918, Shapley provided evidence to support his claim that the Milky Way was a good deal larger than previously supposed, he also argued that this made it most unlikely that spirals were extragalactic. Rather, he suggested they bore a close resemblance to clouds of interstellar material known to exist in our own Galaxy. Other astronomers, notably H. D. Curtis, disagreed and supported the island universe hypothesis.

In 1920 a (so-called) "great debate" was arranged in Washington DC by the National Academy of Sciences in which Shapley and Curtis were to confront each other with the arguments for their respective cases. It is the story of the events leading up to, surrounding, and immediately following this debate on the nature of spiral nebulae that forms the kernel of Smith's fascinating and detailed historical account of the expansion of modern observational cosmology.

Although he does not write so lucidly as Whitney on this topic or exploit the didactic style of Berendzen, Hart and Seely, who have written on the same issue at a lower level, Smith's use of a large body of new source material and reminiscences of first-hand witnesses creates an authoritative and in some areas quite new interpretation of events.

Shapley was an advocate of a large Galaxy and his views were subsequently shown to be substantially correct even though he did not know about the interstellar extinction of starlight by dust. But, in his views on spiral nebulae he was, of course, completely wrong. The spirals proved to be external galaxies of similar status to our own Milky Way. Smith gives a detailed account of the "great debate" between Curtis and Shapley (and includes in detail a picture first drawn by H. H. Cox, which is a picture that contrasts rather sharply with what one sees in astronomy texts and semi-popular historical accounts).

The false and romantic picture of the debate as a titanic intellectual battle in which scientific questions of great import were resolved seems to have grown up first in the 1920s and 1930s. The reason, presumably, was that commentators who did not attend the debate in person were deceived into believing that the written papers of Shapley and Curtis bore a close resemblance to their oral presentations. In reality they bore little, if any, resemblance. Smith develops Hoskin's case that Shapley's concern lest a poor public showing jeopardize his chances of becoming director of Harvard Observatory, dictated his approach to the proceedings. No real argument ever arose.

At Shapley's suggestion, both speakers delivered short addresses and Shapley ruled out the possibility of any debate "great" or small by speaking at a popular level (taking half his talk to define a light year) and devoting the last part of his address to a description of a piece of photographic equipment he was designing. Curtis, of course, was left stranded with his technical reply to a case that was never put. Only after the "debate" did the protagonists discuss the astronomical problems in the course of preparing more detailed articles which were published in the *Bulletin of the Academy*.

Historically, a resolution of the controversy concerning the spirals was provided by Hubble in 1923

when he succeeded in resolving and identifying a Cepheid variable star in Andromeda. By measuring its apparent luminosity and using the known relation between absolute luminosity and the intrinsic period of light variation from this type of star, he was able to establish its distance from us, and Andromeda was confirmed to be an independent and extragalactic stellar system. A galaxy, in fact, remarkably like our own. This is another of the stories Smith tells in as much detail as the source evidence allows.

He also traces the arguments surrounding the development of a morphological classification of galaxies - what is now known as the Hubble classification, although it seems there were a number of ill-tempered exchanges between Landmark and Hubble as to the true originator of such a scheme. The final chapter

## Ifs and ands

The Logic of Natural Language  
by Fred Sommers  
Clarendon Press: Oxford University Press, £19.50  
ISBN 0 19 824425 8

Fred Sommers sets out to defend what he sees as the central doctrine of traditional logic, namely that the fundamental form of proposition is "Some E (very) P is (is not) S".

He argues that traditional term logic is better suited than modern predicate logic to represent the logical syntax of natural language. And contrary to the received Fregean wisdom, term logic in fact has the resources to deal with propositions of multiple generality. He argues further that the traditionalist's approach throws revealing light on some vexed contemporary questions about reference, identity, proper names, and so forth. This programme of rehabilitation is undoubtedly bold; but I think that few will be persuaded that Sommers has successfully carried it through.

The proper shape of semantic theories and the ways of assessing rival semantic proposals (including proposals about "logical form") have been intensively investigated in recent years. Sommers's book proceeds as if these discussions had never taken place. It is left quite unclear what precise content he is giving to the notions of "logical syntax" and "logical form" which play a central part in his argument. So just what is the alleged superiority of traditional logic to modern formal rendering of "Every boy loves some girl", viz.

(x) (Bx → (Ey) (Gy & Lxy)), imports an "if" and an "and" which are not found in the vernacular sentence. But ordinary language uses sorted quantifiers ("every boy", "some girl"); standard predicate logic is single-sorted, treating all quantifiers as running over the same domain. The "if" and the "and" in the formal rendering simply serve to capture the effect of sorted quantifiers in a single-sorted language (had we opted to work with a many-sorted predicate calculus, then the offending connectives would no longer appear). Sommers's complaint is thus only pertinent to the slight artificiality of using a single-sorted language for logic: it has nothing at all to do with the fundamental issue of the adequacy of the modern quantifier-variable analysis of general propositions.

Central to that analysis is a certain conception - or, rather, family of conceptions - of the way in which the truth-conditions of quantified sentences are determined by their semantic properties of their constituents. Sommers seems to think that this conception necessarily presupposes that propositions such as "Some cranes is bald" are quantifier-free, and so form a semantically basic class of atomic propositions; in fact he argues that such propositions in and have the form "Some Socrates is bald" (or equivalently "Everest is bald"). But even if natural language propositions involving free, non-atomic names are not quantifier-free, nothing follows about the applicability of (say) the standard Tarskian

traces the first interactions between general relativity theory and the observational discovery of the universal expansion, culminating in Hubble's definitive work. Here again there are some interesting surprises: although Hubble's work was published in 1929, some standard astronomical textbooks were claiming the expansion of the Universe (or the "de Sitter effect" as it was first called) as the most likely explanation of early redshift data as early as 1927.

One interesting impression one does get from parts of this book is how uncritically theoreticians accepted experimental data, especially in view of their treatment of theoretical ideas. For example, Shapley's case for the local nature of spirals was bolstered by proper motion data later shown to be in error; remarkably, Sir James Jeans was willing even to abandon Newton's

laws of motion to accommodate similar data theoretically.

It is sobering to recall Einstein's reactions when it appeared sure that the age of stellar objects was greater than the age of the Universe according to general relativity. He considered the status of different spectral types, as age classes of a uniform development, which process would need much longer than a billion years. Such a theory, therefore, actually contradicts the demonstrated consequences of the relativistic equations. It seems to me, however, that the "theory of evolution" of the stars rests on weaker foundations than the field equations.

John Barrow

John Barrow is a lecturer in astronomy at the University of Sussex.

## The case against creationism

Creation and Evolution: myth or reality?  
by Norman D. Newell  
Columbia University Press, \$29.90  
ISBN 0 231 05348 7

Norman Newell - until his retirement one of the leading invertebrate paleontologists at the American Museum of Natural History in New York - has written this book for laymen, especially schoolteachers, young people and their parents, to explain the scientific case in the current controversy over the claims of the creationists that their views are of equal validity to those of science and that they therefore deserve "equal time" in the US educational curriculum.

Most of the book is therefore an exposition of the nature of fossils, the geological record, systematics, heredity, natural selection and evolution. Where it is appropriate, Newell explains how, and why, the creationists dispute either the data or their interpretation, and criticizes their alternative suggestions. He also analyses the claims of the creationists that their activities are a form of science, and gives a brief historical introduction to the whole controversy. The book is illustrated by 84 figures, some drawn specially for it, others taken from research literature; unfortunately, however, some of these have not been adequately explained in either the caption or the text.

To most scientists, the whole affair seems a ludicrous waste of time, rather like defending the view that the Earth is round and revolves around the Sun. The views of fundamentalists, who accept us divinely inspired truth every word of the English translation (sometimes mistranslated) of the Bible, would seem to be about as important to our everyday life as was, until recently, a legalistic squabble over the ownership of a few remote, semi-barren, (say) the standard Tarskian

No surprise, therefore that this text by a one-time chemist, later professor of mechanical then of chemical engineering and now interested in chemical physics, seeks so many targets and, gratifyingly, hits many of them so squarely.

What this book chiefly offers is the rare and welcome hope that thermodynamics can be introduced with erudition in a relaxed and even light-hearted manner. Unabashedly a primer, it carries the reader smoothly from the simple experience of primitive man, as seen through the eyes of the author's familiar Charlie the Caveman to the thermodynamics of today. Even after the many topical questions of energy usage and trans-

formation that are discussed cease to be problems, the novelty of their treatment in this book will ensure its value for many years.

Despite the easy style, the reader is not encouraged to stray far from the strict pathway of thermodynamic rigour. Nor is he insulted by being left with shallow understanding based on glib phrases and limp reasoning. Thus at the end of each chapter he will find a short section gathering together the essential concepts under titles such as "Specifics on heat" or "Things to think about while driving".

What is there to enjoy about this book? Certainly the many homely graphs, sketches of instruments (we are never allowed to forget that thermodynamics is an experimental science), or pictures of Charlie subtitled with rhyming aphorisms all clearly from the pen of, not a draughtsman, but an illustrator from the classical mould. The index-cum-glossary more than earns its keep by giving definitions and brief explanations with no need to search further through the book, and new principles, introduced in the usual way via the ideal gas, are briskly put to work in a greater than usual number of realistic examples involving solids and liquids.

Also enjoyable are the colourful historical episodes that swings in and (currently) out of fashion in thermodynamics texts. The associated geography falters, however, at least once - is Josiah's Salford still a small town near Manchester? And finally, even Mr Scargill would relish the delightful description of coal as "congealed sunshine".

There are idiosyncratic features. Why, for example, give not one but two descriptions of the common properties of logarithms that can now be learned in minutes with a scientific calculator? Again, how much room should there be in a book of this kind for an outline of atomic theory? And is it really pedagogically desirable to juggle metric, Imperial, and other units throughout the many numerical examples and problems? The answers probably lie in the wide and transatlantic readership envisaged by the author.

Gaps inevitably occur. The chemist will regret the absence of both chemical potential and chemical equilibrium. The physicist may feel the attention afforded the statistical element in thermodynamics is scant although he will warm to the brief word on irreversible thermodynamics. Though the chemical engineer will miss the treatment of mixtures and phase equilibria his mechanical colleague will find much that pleases. The thermodynamicist will be surprised that calorimetry - the bedrock of modern thermodynamics - receives so little mention in the text and none at all in the index.

On the other hand, the mathematician has little cause to complain; the author does not duck the drawing of the differentials, and his introduction to integrating factors is particularly neat. While the academic physicist may rail at the use of the concept of chaos in the discussion of entropy he would do well to ask himself if his more functional approach, however appropriate for a Guardian of the Faith, enjoys greater didactic success.

Although the average undergraduate will be unlikely to find enough specific to his needs to induce him to part with his money, he will be well served if through his instructor he is able to sample Dr Fenn's exceptional approach.

Ian McLure

Ian McLure is lecturer in chemistry at the University of Sheffield.

Engines, Energy and Entropy: a thermodynamics primer  
by John B. Fenn  
Freeman, £13.50 and £6.95  
ISBN 0 7167 1281 4 and 1282 2

Thermodynamics is taught in many different ways - by mathematicians as a collection of elegant constructs, by physicists as one of the eternal verities, by engineers as the basis for calculations on engines of all varieties consuming and converting energy of all kinds, but - some say - by chemists best of all.



# NOTICE BOARD

Noticeboard is compiled by Patricia Santinelli and Mila Goldie

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Biochemistry - Dr D. C. H. McIlwain - £24,000 from United-Mycos Co. New York for a study of the biochemistry of platinum anti-tumour drugs, and the biological activity of the transformation products.  
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Industrial chemistry - Dr J. Parakk - £14,445 from the Cancer Research Campaign to study the synthesis of potentially useful radio-sensitizers in collaboration with the CRI Laboratory.  
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Non-metallic materials - Professor M. J. Helys and Dr J. H. H. Helys - £21,200 from the SERC to study the fatigue behaviour of joints in fibre-reinforced plastic systems. Professor M. J. Helys - £25,800 from the SERC to develop techniques for the production of cold fibre-reinforced thermoplastics mouldings intended for demanding applications.  
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Biology and Biological Sciences - £12,341 from Ministry of Agriculture, Fisheries and Food for investigation into SO<sub>2</sub> inhibition of mitochondrial formation in malt, under the direction of Dr H. C. Palmer.  
Chemistry - £49,350 from SERC for a study of the hydrolysis of coal liquefaction intermediates, under the direction of Dr W. Skirrow and Dr W. K. East.  
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Architecture and building science - Professor D. Y. Yeh - £16,400 from the Scottish Development Department for the development of a climatic severity index.  
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## NELSON RODRIGUES O ETERNAL RETURN



Hélio de Almeida's programme cover design for the Grupo de Teatro Macunaima. The company, based at the Centro Teatral Pasquba (centre for theatre studies) in São Paulo, Brazil, has just completed a highly successful season at The Riverside Studios in Hammersmith, London.

### Forthcoming Events

The British Educational Research Association's annual conference is being held at Melville Hall, the University of St Andrews, Fife, 1-3 September 1982. The conference is centred around questions such as whether it is possible to have overall national or local policies within universities and polytechnics? What sort of research ought to be done and by whom? The aims and focus and in particular how numbers of postgraduate students should be determined. It will be held at the Royal Society of Arts, John Adam Street, London WC1N 3AF, on September 24 from 10.30 until 5.30pm. Further details from Dr E. Rudd, University of Essex, Colchester. Applications not later than September 20.

### Universities

#### THE AUSTRALIAN NATIONAL UNIVERSITY

### FACULTY OF ECONOMICS CHAIR OF ECONOMICS

A Chair in Economics is vacant following the resignation of Professor Stephen Turnovsky. Applicants are sought from a major field of theoretical or applied economics. In all cases, applicants are expected to have strong analytical backgrounds and to have proven research records in their chosen fields of specialization.  
The normal duties of a professor are to provide leadership and to play an active role in the undergraduate and postgraduate teaching and the research activities of the Department. The professor will be expected to be from time to time Head of Department of Economics and/or Dean of the Faculty of Economics.  
It is hoped that the appointee will be able to take up duty in early 1983.  
Closing date: 11 OCTOBER 1982.

#### FACULTY OF SCIENCE DEPARTMENT OF GEOLOGY

Applications are invited from suitably qualified persons for the following two positions which the University hopes to fill, subject to funds being available.

### LECTURER IN BASIN ANALYSIS

The appointee will be required to give lectures and practical courses on the principles of Basin Analysis, particularly as they are applied to the understanding of Australian Phanerozoic sedimentary basins. These courses would be expected to cover sedimentology, palaeontological and geophysical approaches to the topic; numerical analysis of basin data would be an important part of practical courses. Research specialism in a relevant field of geoscience will be expected. The appointee will be required to undertake supervision of honours and postgraduate students in his field of specialization. In addition, he will be required to assist with the teaching of first year classes, and with undergraduate field work.  
Applicants must have a higher degree in Geology. Experience in industry would be an advantage.

### LECTURER IN PETROLOGY

A specialization in metamorphic and/or volcanic rocks is preferred. The successful applicant would be required to teach courses at all undergraduate levels, and undertake supervision of honours and postgraduate students in his field of specialization. Assistance with field work would also be expected. Applicants must have a higher degree in Geology.  
Closing date: 30 OCTOBER 1982.  
CONDITIONS OF APPOINTMENT: Salary will be in accordance with qualifications and experience within the ranges: Professor \$445,977 pa; Lecturer \$422,430-\$429,467 pa. (Current exchange rates: \$1 = \$US0.88 = UK\$75).  
Appointee unless otherwise stated, will be: Professor to retiring age (65 years); Lecturer for 4 years in the first instance with the possibility of reappointment, after review, to retiring age.  
Reasonable appointment expenses are paid. Superannuation benefits are available for applicants who are eligible to contribute. Assistance with finding accommodation in Canberra is provided for the right not to make an appointment or to make an appointment by invitation at any time.  
Prospective applicants should write to the Registrar of the University, PO Box 4, Canberra, A.C.T. 2600, Australia, or to Gordon Square, London WC1H 0PF, for further particulars before submitting applications.

### WARNING - AUSTRALIA

#### Contract Academic Appointments

Applicants for Australian academic vacancies are warned that several universities are now offering many contract or fixed-term appointments. Sometimes such offers follow misleading advertisements which suggest a continuing or tenured position is available. There have also been some unauthorised and misleading assurances given about the possibility of future continuing employment if contract employment is accepted in the first instance. Applicants should enquire about these matters to the university concerned or seek further information from F.A.U.S.A. inserted by L.B. Wells, General Secretary, Federation of Australian University Staff Associations, 33 Bank Street, South Melbourne, Victoria, 3205, Australia.

### UNIVERSITY OF WESTERN AUSTRALIA

#### Perth

### UNIVERSITY RESEARCH

### FELLOWSHIPS (Post-Doctoral)

At least two Research Fellowships will be offered, to be taken up in 1983. Appointment will be for one year in the first instance with the possibility of renewal for a second year. Fellowships may be renewed for a third year, but only in competition with new applications. The Fellowships will be tenable in the following academic departments for work in the broad areas stated below:

- Botany: Application of chromosome banding techniques to cytogenetic research in Western Australia. Forest ecosystem management. Age, source and genesis of Archaean gold mineralization in Western Australia, using isotopic techniques.
- Mechanical Engineering: A theoretical and experimental investigation of the mechanisms of noise and vibration generation in rolling contact bearings. The development of suitable affinity labelling reagents for the estrogen receptor from human uterus. Regulation of protein turnover in heart and skeletal muscle.
- Physiology: Application of cytochrome banding techniques to cytogenetic research in Western Australia. Forest ecosystem management. Age, source and genesis of Archaean gold mineralization in Western Australia, using isotopic techniques.

The Fellowships are intended for PhD graduates, or those with equivalent qualifications, who by publication and in other ways have demonstrated significant research capability. Preference will normally be given to graduates of universities other than the SA18,056-\$420,699 per annum.  
Applications in duplicate setting out full personal particulars, qualifications and experience, and the proposal for research during the tenure of the Fellowship, should reach the Staffing Officer, University of Western Australia, Nedlands, Western Australia 6009, by October 1982. Candidates should request three referees to write immediately to the Staffing Officer, from whom any further specific information may be obtained.

### SWAZILAND UNIVERSITY COLLEGE OF

#### EDUCATION

### SWAZILAND UNIVERSITY COLLEGE OF

#### EDUCATION

Applications are invited from suitably qualified persons for the following two positions which the University hopes to fill, subject to funds being available.

### LECTURER IN PETROLOGY

A specialization in metamorphic and/or volcanic rocks is preferred. The successful applicant would be required to teach courses at all undergraduate levels, and undertake supervision of honours and postgraduate students in his field of specialization. Assistance with field work would also be expected. Applicants must have a higher degree in Geology.  
Closing date: 30 OCTOBER 1982.  
CONDITIONS OF APPOINTMENT: Salary will be in accordance with qualifications and experience within the ranges: Professor \$445,977 pa; Lecturer \$422,430-\$429,467 pa. (Current exchange rates: \$1 = \$US0.88 = UK\$75).  
Appointee unless otherwise stated, will be: Professor to retiring age (65 years); Lecturer for 4 years in the first instance with the possibility of reappointment, after review, to retiring age.  
Reasonable appointment expenses are paid. Superannuation benefits are available for applicants who are eligible to contribute. Assistance with finding accommodation in Canberra is provided for the right not to make an appointment or to make an appointment by invitation at any time.  
Prospective applicants should write to the Registrar of the University, PO Box 4, Canberra, A.C.T. 2600, Australia, or to Gordon Square, London WC1H 0PF, for further particulars before submitting applications.

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### THE OPEN UNIVERSITY

#### Faculty of Social Sciences

### LECTURER IN MECHANICAL/ MANUFACTURING ENGINEERING

Applications are invited for the above post in the Department of Mechanical/Manufacturing Engineering at Trinity College, Dublin.  
Candidates for this appointment should preferably hold a higher degree in Engineering, some industrial experience would be desirable. A background in control engineering, robotics or the application of computers to manufacturing would be of interest but no area of specialization will be excluded from consideration.  
Salary scale: GRS 11/11.5/13/14/15/16/17/18/19/20/21/22/23/24/25/26/27/28/29/30/31/32/33/34/35/36/37/38/39/40/41/42/43/44/45/46/47/48/49/50/51/52/53/54/55/56/57/58/59/60/61/62/63/64/65/66/67/68/69/70/71/72/73/74/75/76/77/78/79/80/81/82/83/84/85/86/87/88/89/90/91/92/93/94/95/96/97/98/99/100/101/102/103/104/105/106/107/108/109/110/111/112/113/114/115/116/117/118/119/120/121/122/123/124/125/126/127/128/129/130/131/132/133/134/135/136/137/138/139/140/141/142/143/144/145/146/147/148/149/150/151/152/153/154/155/156/157/158/159/160/161/162/163/164/165/166/167/168/169/170/171/172/173/174/175/176/177/178/179/180/181/182/183/184/185/186/187/188/189/190/191/192/193/194/195/196/197/198/199/200/201/202/203/204/205/206/207/208/209/210/211/212/213/214/215/216/217/218/219/220/221/222/223/224/225/226/227/228/229/230/231/232/233/234/235/236/237/238/239/240/241/242/243/244/245/246/247/248/249/250/251/252/253/254/255/256/257/258/259/260/261/262/263/264/265/266/267/268/269/270/271/272/273/274/275/276/277/278/279/280/281/282/283/284/285/286/287/288/289/290/291/292/293/294/295/296/297/298/299/300/301/302/303/304/305/306/307/308/309/310/311/312/313/314/315/316/317/318/319/320/321/322/323/324/325/326/327/328/329/330/331/332/333/334/335/336/337/338/339/340/341/342/343/344/345/346/347/348/349/350/351/352/353/354/355/356/357/358/359/360/361/362/363/364/365/366/367/368/369/370/371/372/373/374/375/376/377/378/379/380/381/382/383/384/385/386/387/388/389/390/391/392/393/394/395/396/397/398/399/400/401/402/403/404/405/406/407/408/409/410/411/412/413/414/415/416/417/418/419/420/421/422/423/424/425/426/427/428/429/430/431/432/433/434/435/436/437/438/439/440/441/442/443/444/445/446/447/448/449/450/451/452/453/454/455/456/457/458/459/460/461/462/463/464/465/466/467/468/469/470/471/472/473/474/475/476/477/478/479/480/481/482/483/484/485/486/487/488/489/490/491/492/493/494/495/496/497/498/499/500/501/502/503/504/505/506/507/508/509/510/511/512/513/514/515/516/517/518/519/520/521/522/523/524/525/526/527/528/529/530/531/532/533/534/535/536/537/538/539/540/541/542/543/544/545/546/547/548/549/550/551/552/553/554/555/556/557/558/559/560/561/562/563/564/565/566/567/568/569/570/571/572/573/574/575/576/577/578/579/580/581/582/583/584/585/586/587/588/589/590/591/592/593/594/595/596/597/598/599/600/601/602/603/604/605/606/607/608/609/610/611/612/613/614/615/616/617/618/619/620/621/622/623/624/625/626/627/628/629/630/631/632/633/634/635/636/637/638/639/640/641/642/643/644/645/646/647/648/649/650/651/652/653/654/655/656/657/658/659/660/661/662/663/664/665/666/667/668/669/670/671/672/673/674/675/676/677/678/679/680/681/682/683/684/685/686/687/688/689/690/691/692/693/694/695/696/697/698/699/700/701/702/703/704/705/706/707/708/709/710/711/712/713/714/715/716/717/718/719/720/721/722/723/724/725/726/727/728/729/730/731/732/733/734/735/736/737/738/739/740/741/742/743/744/745/746/747/748/749/750/751/752/753/754/755/756/757/758/759/760/761/762/763/764/765/766/767/768/769/770/771/772/773/774/775/776/777/778/779/780/781/782/783/784/785/786/787/788/789/790/791/792/793/794/795/796/797/798/799/800/801/802/803/804/805/806/807/808/809/810/811/812/813/814/815/816/817/818/819/820/821/822/823/824/825/826/827/828/829/830/831/832/833/834/835/836/837/838/839/840/841/842/843/844/845/846/847/848/849/850/851/852/853/854/855/856/857/858/859/860/861/862/863/864/865/866/867/868/869/870/871/872/873/874/875/876/877/878/879/880/881/882/883/884/885/886/887/888/889/890/891/892/893/894/895/896/897/898/899/900/901/902/903/904/905/906/907/908/909/910/911/912/913/914/915/916/917/918/919/920/921/922/923/924/925/926/927/928/929/930/931/932/933/934/935/936/937/938/939/940/941/942/943/944/945/946/947/948/949/950/951/952/953/954/955/956/957/958/959/960/961/962/963/964/965/966/967/968/969/970/971/972/973/974/975/976/977/978/979/980/981/982/983/984/985/986/987/988/989/990/991/992/993/994/995/996/997/998/999/1000/1001/1002/1003/1004/1005/1006/1007/1008/1009/1010/1011/1012/1013/1014/1015/1016/1017/1018/1019/1020/1021/1022/1023/1024/1025/1026/1027/1028/1029/1030/1031/1032/1033/1034/1035/1036/1037/1038/1039/1040/1041/1042/1043/1044/1045/1046/1047/1048/1049/1050/1051/1052/1053/1054/1055/1056/1057/1058/1059/1060/1061/1062/1063/1064/1065/1066/1067/1068/1069/1070/1071/1072/1073/1074/1075/1076/1077/1078/1079/1080/1081/1082/1083/1084/1085/1086/1087/1088/1089/1090/1091/1092/1093/1094/1095/1096/1097/1098/1099/1100/1101/1102/1103/1104/1105/1106/1107/1108/1109/1110/1111/1112/1113/1114/1115/1116/1117/1118/1119/1120/1121/1122/1123/1124/1125/1126/1127/1128/1129/1







# Don's diary

## Sunday

This is the day of the annual barbecue which R and I run jointly with the professor of Russian. This year, it is to be rather a special occasion as the professor is taking early retirement. The barbecue is his last big social event. He is known to be one of the most hospitable and convivial men in the university and in keeping with this character trait has indeed a large number of people most of whom have insisted on bringing their children - much to my apprehension. I have spent a week tensely listening to weather forecasts and dreading what will happen if there is a down-pour. We have all three worked long hours marinating mutton for kebabs, preparing salads, and tastefully disposing raw chicken legs, sausages and spare ribs on tables around the patio. Trouble is, we only have one barbecue and the friends who are lending the other ones arrive so late that I am in a tizzy of anxiety. However, everyone gives a hand and some people even bring gifts of salad, wine or barbecue sauce. Eventually all the guests are fed and their glasses are topped up. An atmosphere of relaxation and well-being descends on the company.

## Monday

I wake up feeling as though the Pilgrim's Progress has fallen from me. A substantial part of the morning is spent discussing a dissertation with a Hong Kong student. In Northern Ireland, we don't have many overseas students and this one has made quite an impact on our institution. She displays some of the characteristics of the typical eastern student, being immensely hard-working and conscientious but much afraid of "losing face" should she not be able to live up to her family's expectations. I am her adviser of studies and thus have a pastoral responsibility for her. She finds it hard to reconcile this caring role with my rather tough style of supervision and goes of crestfallen to redraft her last chapter. The afternoon is spent mostly marking examination scripts. I notice that one young woman has spelled Chomsky's name "Chomotsky" - by analogy with Vygotzky; no doubt - and that, although she is writing in her native language, the quality of her English is deplorable. Some of the professor's house to help contain some of the liquor left over from yesterday. True to this nature, she has invited quite a few other guests and soon an impromptu party is on full swing. I grow tired of drinking cider and eventually pluck up courage to ask for "a decent gin, please". In the end, I enjoy this spontaneous evening much more than yesterday's carefully planned, large-scale event. Resolve to have about ten polite (and childless) people to next year's barbecue.

## Tuesday

The day is spent quietly marking scripts and reading.

## Wednesday

This evening R, who is at the Queen's University of Belfast, is bringing his external examiner home to stay the night. All morning I busy myself around the house. At about lunchtime, tired and flustered, I arrive in the senior common room and remark that I have spent the morning cleaning, cooking and arranging flowers. The professor of mathematics observes acidly: "That's not what you're paid for." The professor of history, who is known to be something of a horticultural snob, expounds a colour theory of flowers. I wonder whether to rush home, tear apart all my bouquets and begin

## Friday

A farewell luncheon for the professor of Russian and his external examiner. Ceremonial presentation of a walnut tree. The professor is greatly touched. Late in the afternoon he boards his somewhat battered bus and I regrettably wave him off. We have lost a good friend.

## Saturday

Another trip to Belfast, this time for a conference on Nature Conservation - a cause which I do all I can to support. The conference is well-attended and successful. I return home and spend the evening peacefully reading. An antidote to an unusually social week.

Rosalind M. O. Fritchard

The author is lecturer in education at the New University of Ulster.

For many years I have laboured under the misconception that outside New York and a few favoured spots on the east coast, there is nothing on offer for tourists in the United States. America is somewhere to come to work I always believed. Its universities have facilities which are so superior to anything that British equivalents can offer that more people around both able and willing to discuss whatever one's current research interests may be. Libraries are so well stocked and so well laid out that finding a reference is a pleasure rather than a chore. But this summer I have found that America is also somewhere to come and play. Not perhaps in Nebraska or Minnesota but certainly in California.

What makes it so attractive for the discerning tourist is the combination of sea, mountain and urban delights it has to offer. Moreover, unlike similar places in Europe, such as the South of France, people are thin on the ground. Granted the distances between one place and the next are vast and a car and the willingness to sit in it for quite a lot of hours are both essential; cars may be smaller and older here than they used to be but this is still a motorized society. The second reason why tourism is a pleasure here is that it is well organized. Brought up in the 1960s on the Galbraithian verdict of the US as the epitome of private wealth and public squalor, I have never been able to believe that any public facility here could have merit. That preconception has been denied too.

Starting with the most prosaic, the roads are well maintained and well-laned which makes driving easy, even though a 55mph speed limit is frustrating for those of us who like to "do the ton" when faced with an open stretch of tarmac. Getting off them to eat is made easy by the ample provision of picnic sites with tables and benches and barbecue grills provided. Moving on to the places to visit, the national parks do credit to those who have planned them and who run them. Their ecology is carefully preserved by limiting the number of people able to camp in them. In places like Yosemite, a uniquely beautiful area high in the Sierra Nevada, passes have to be obtained to walk in certain areas in the interests of preservation. For regard this as an incursion into individual freedom by an over-cautious

## Delights for discerning tourists



Tessa Blackstone

environmentalist bureaucracy; but the counter arguments are obvious. There the inevitable car park booths, sign-posts, notices and snack-bars instead of being ugly blots on a beautiful landscape, have been carefully constructed to tone in with the natural environment, thus minimizing their ill effects on the eye. There is nothing squalid here.

The most impressive aspect of the national parks, however, is the information they provide for the public. This comes in various forms. First, park information centres provide free maps, descriptions and orientate themselves. Second, along the trails are well spaced notices giving information about the flora, fauna and geology of the area with, for example, pictures of fossils to be found in nearby rocks. Spoon-fed, perhaps, but for those of whose eyes are not trained to pick out insect fossils embedded in the passing hillsides, and who do not want to carry a library of books about trees, flowers and animals in our rucksacks, it is a useful source even if it encourages laziness. For those who do not want to know about such things, the notices are unobtrusive, and they can walk past

without reading them. Finally, there are short talks given by park rangers who are fresh-faced young men (and women, though I saw none), who have escaped from their jobs in the big cities for the attractions of the "wilderness". Daytime talks on the rocks; evening talks on the history and culture of the Indians of the area; night-time talks on the stars. Just a little corny at times perhaps, but it still becomes city sophisticates to sneer at these efforts, which embody genuine attempts to provide informal education and to encourage participation from the audiences. No signs of public squalor here either.

Museums are another kind of tourist attraction which have helped to demolish my prejudices. Their contents may lack the richness of European collections. But they are so well exhibited and the buildings which house them, in general, are so well planned, that they are a pleasure to visit. It is, of course, true that they are not entirely publicly provided since they benefit considerably from endowments. Not a bad example, perhaps, of the successful mixing of private and public sources of funds.

This brings me back to higher education. Part of the lavishness of the universities' facilities, which I mentioned at the beginning, derives from endowments, especially at the private institutions. But most of the opulence (by British standards) of the University of California derives from public funds. It could be claimed that its superb campuses are only justified by a small elite group, just as the freeways, national parks and museums are for the most part unavailable to the majority. That the tourist and public provision of education is in no doubt, but neither are confined to a small elite. For those who do not make it to the university, California has a big network of community colleges with low fees and open access, and many of these have campuses, if not facilities, which match those of the state university.

A British colleague visiting for a conference asked me if I managed to do any work here, as he looked wistfully at the lithe young people ambling past, armed with tennis rackets and frisbees. "It's hard," I told him. "Perhaps a little rain and gloom (metaphorically as well as literally) is good for the protestant ethic?"

It is not uncommon for students to become stranded in the UK following political change or upheaval in their country of origin, the academic community often being one of the

for two months ago. The typing course was a desperate gesture to keep themselves busy for a month and to increase their chances of employment. Two of them had a real fear that they would never find a job and I suspect that at least one had hoped of warding off severe depression and a possible breakdown for his brilliant daughter.

And this unhappy experience was the fate of the intellectual *crêpe de la crème*, the pride and joy of the nation's sixth-forms, the once hopefuls in the glittering prizes stakes. I thought of myself leaving school at 16 with a mediocre school certificate, working for several years in the drama department of the BBC, doing an emergency training course and becoming a teacher, and I thanked my good fortune that I was born when I was and had plenty of opportunities for jobs and plenty of choices. I could try one thing and if that didn't suit I could try another. These young women have little chance to experiment. They have to grab the first job that comes their way and count themselves lucky.

Oh yes, I did enjoy the course, thank you. I still need to practise to increase my speed and accuracy. The fee was £105 plus VAT - excellent value for money; a good investment for a freelance writer.

I wish it hadn't left me feeling quite so anxious about the employment prospects for my three student sons. Higher education no longer entitles a bright future. Perhaps I should write a novel or a radio play about a group of young graduate women who should be talking every youngster I meet out of doing arts degrees. No one seems to want them. How do they learn to live what that?

Jeanne Feasey

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

### Cuts in public sector teacher training

Sir, - Your article on proposed cuts in public sector teacher training (*THES*, August 13) appeared to focus its attention upon the threatened colleges as opposed to departments which exist within polytechnics. As you suggest, decisions here seem to have been made upon "political grounds", certainly in the case of my own institution it is difficult to see how the DES criteria given in their press release apply. As you stated, teacher education at Thames is conducted at the former Dartford College of Education. However, it is not simply known for its four-year BEd PE (Hons.). The former Dartford College was the first institution to run specialist courses for intending teachers of PE for girls and has maintained a national and international reputation over nearly a century. Physical education is one of which have very little to do with education or that there has been an administrative muddle in the typing pool and that Thames should have appeared as one of the centres of excellence nominated by the DES. Yours faithfully, C. M. LEWIS, Thames Polytechnic.

Sir, - The situation for colleges on the DES "hit list" is difficult enough without the publication of misleading comments (*THES*, August 13). New College, Durham's recruitment to the initial BEd degree in 1981 was indeed 64, but its target

main targets of repressive regimes. Organizations such as WUS attempt to respond to the needs of such students, but unless or until a person is granted asylum in the UK and thus treated as a home student, this is increasingly difficult in the face of prohibitive tuition costs in addition to the costs of maintenance. If each university were to commit itself to a number of free places a year for students stranded here, the job of those assisting refugees would be greatly eased and, more importantly, a worthy contribution would be made to the student victims of repressive societies.

Yours faithfully, NIGEL HARTLEY, World University Service, 20/21 Compton Terrace, London N1 2UN.

### Free places

Sir, - It was gratifying to learn (*THES*, August 6) that British universities have responded so generously to an appeal for free places for Polish students stranded here since the declaration of martial law. The academic community in the UK gave considerable assistance to Chikarev refugees almost a decade ago and a number of universities currently provide around 25 free places for students who have suffered educational discrimination in South Africa. This latest move to assist Polish students thus continues a tradition and is particularly welcome in the light of current financial constraints.

Yours faithfully, NIGEL HARTLEY, World University Service, 20/21 Compton Terrace, London N1 2UN.

### Student choice

Sir, - In your edition of August 13 David Jobbins reports on a survey article in the latest edition of the *Higher Education Review*. The conclusion drawn from a survey of some 3,000 sixth-formers is that there is a distinct preference for the larger established universities than for the newer universities, including the technological universities. This conclusion is not borne out by this university's recent experience in relation to applications for admission in October 1982.

While for 1982 the national average shows an increase of 6 per cent in home applications to all universities over 1981, the increase overall at Surrey is similar in percentage with the

### Alnago action

Sir, - I was surprised to read in an article on the National Advisory Body's request to institutions and I.e.s.s. to draw up plans for cuts (*THES*, August 6) that the Inner London Polytechnics branch of Nalago had already decided not to cooperate with this exercise.

No such decision has been taken by this branch.

In fact, it is the directors of the five inner London polytechnics who have decided not to cooperate. In line with Nalago's general policy of opposition to all cuts in higher and further education, we fully support this decision and will give them all the backing we can.

However, I am concerned that Nalago members in the inner London polytechnics may have been given the impression that they were not being consulted on a decision to take industrial action. If and when we are put in a position of having to decide whether to cooperate with plans for cuts, which will inevitably lead to a decline in the provision of further education in London and job loss amongst both teaching and non-teaching staff, then that decision will be taken democratically.

The stand taken by the directors clearly shows that the trade unions are not alone in opposing cuts and it is unfortunate that your article chose not to mention this.

Yours faithfully, JOAN TWELVES, Branch Secretary, Inner London Polytechnics Nalago.

### Overseas academics

Sir, - On p.3 of *The THES* (August 20) you report new Home Office guidelines on the appointment of overseas academics to teaching posts in British universities, the effect of which (if any) can only be to the detriment both of intellectual life in universities and of Britain's standing in the world. We are appalled to see yet one more example of ethnic prejudice and xenophobia should be given a "qualified welcome" by the general secretary of the AUT. Those of us who are in the AUT would like to know whose opinions Mr. Sapper has sought on this matter; his use of the term "principle" is singularly insulting to those academics from abroad who will be taking their unemployment back home with them.

Yours faithfully, P. BURIDGE, M. HARRISON, C. D. FRASER, JOHN HARTLEY, PETER LORD, KEITH COWLING, N. J. IRELAND, University of Warwick.

### Minority languages

Sir, - Your report on the Commission for Racial Equality's *Statement on ethnic minority community languages* (*THES*, August 20) may have suggested that support for the further development of teaching of such languages within the public education system comes only from organizations whose primary function is to articulate the interests of minority communities; and that such development would be exclusively in the interests of ethnic minority students themselves.

The far from being the case. In fact, earlier this year a working party of the National Congress on Languages in Education produced a Report on the languages of minority

### Selling the universities

Sir, - I read with interest Donald Watt's article on three university advertising films (*THES*, August 20) but should like to correct the impression that these are the only three which have been made. At the time of the last survey of university publicity films (March 1981) undertaken by the Leeds University Information Office 29 universities had publicity films available for showing in schools. The survey, which is being revised and will be available later in the autumn, is likely to show an increase in the number of films as well as a trend towards wider availability on video cassette.

These films are in the main not "a hard sell" for a particular university and the title given to Professor Watt's article is a misnomer. A primary objective certainly in the case of the Leeds film *Twenty-three Minutes* is to give the sixth-former a better idea of what universities are like using illustrations from a particular university. They therefore serve the general good as well as the particular interest. Soft sell, yes; hard sell, no. Yours sincerely, DAVID MORRIS, Leeds University Information Office.

Sir, - I read Professor Watt's article *The Hard Sell* (*THES*, August 20) with some amusement. Three years ago I spent two days prior to re-making the old UMIST film for schools watching more than 30 university films then extant.

Certainly there have multiple copies of a 16mm film and video-cassettes available at UMIST and these are heavily used. Very few universities do not have similar "goodies" on offer and, indeed, the soft or hard sell of tape-slide shows, display material, prospectuses and posters from schools' liaison services is often very professionally put together indeed.

While aware of the danger that is inherent in concentrating on social facilities rather than academic life and the temptation to present Manchester, for example, visually as the Florence of the North there may well be a duty on universities individually and collectively to show prospective students what life at college is about and how it differs from school. We hold open days and provide prospectuses so that they can learn about curricula and campus life. Films are a not very expensive extension of that information flow.

There is also, in fact, a film made by Jack Rosenthal, sponsored by a bank and blessed by the CVCP depicting the first few days of life at a mythical university.

Yours faithfully, TIM YATES, Director of Communications, University of Manchester Institute of Science and Technology.

### Publishing crisis

Sir, - Professor Rose's suggestions (*THES*, August 20) for academics to bypass the crisis of publishing by taking a director hand in producing their own works are much to be welcomed. The recent pleasantly radical proposal by Krocotkin advanced in 1892 in *The Conquest of Bread*. The future researcher would not have to look for an editor who might advance the necessary capital. He will look for collaborators among those who know the printing trade, and who approve the idea of his new work. Together they will publish the new book or journal.

Authors who "hardly care to know what a printing office is like" but entrust their books to "a beast of burden, the worker" will learn the art of handling types, they will know the pleasure of coming to set up the press, to set up the type, to set up the press, to take it in its original purity from the press.

Learned societies, already dissolving individualism in intellectual labour, could happily be the bases for such associations. "Maybe," Krocotkin allowed, "some books will be less voluminous; but then, more will be said on fewer pages". Yours sincerely, ADAM WESTOBY, Faculty of Educational Studies, The Open University.

## Union view

### Setback to unity in Scotland

The movement towards one union for lecturers in the tertiary sector in Scotland received a setback when the members of the Scottish Further Education Association narrowly rejected proposals for a new organization which had been submitted by the executives of the SFEA and the Educational Institute of Scotland further education section. The executives had produced a draft constitution for a tertiary sector organization to be known as the Association of Lecturers in Further and Higher Education (ALFHE) and to be formed by uniting the membership of SFEA and FELNS in a single union. The association was to be a self-governing body within the EIS.

Both executives had recommended their membership to vote "yes". The EIS membership decisively demonstrated their support for a unified tertiary union by a majority of over nine-to-one in favour of the proposals. The SFEA members, however, disregarded the advice of their executive rejected the proposals by 53 to 46 per cent. The reluctance of the SFEA to publicize the voting figures is a mystery. Sources suggest that the vote was very close with a majority of fewer than 50 votes.

In some respects the closeness of the vote is a source of encouragement. There was little or no effort by the SFEA executive to promote the proposals. Whereas the opponents of EIS/SFEA unity campaigned actively in the colleges for rejection. When the votes of the EIS and SFEA are combined it shows there is a substantial majority in the FE colleges for the proposals.

Despite this setback the EIS continues to promote the cause of unity. They have made approaches to the Federation of the Association of College Lecturers in Scotland (FACLS) to see whether the constitution of the EIS could be changed to enable the EIS to join FACLS. The main stumbling block is that the association in FACLS have parity in voting irrespective of membership or financial contribution.

This would not matter too much except that FACLS would determine the salary policy to be pursued by the staff side of the Scottish Joint Negotiating Committee for Teaching Staff in Further Education. To expect the major union to accept this arrangement calls for a degree of self-sacrifice which is unrealistic and would not be supported by its membership.

In an attempt to make progress the EIS FE section has enlisted the support of National Association of Teachers in Further and Higher Education who are linked to them and to ALSCI through a joint partnership scheme. Natfhe is held in high regard by the EIS FE members. Two Natfhe members, past president Peter Knight and treasurer Bill Easton, are members of the FELNS executive and they exert influence on the executive. It is unfortunate however that so far they have not been able to influence the SFEA. I have no doubt that the "Scottish" factor influences the attitudes of the SFEA anti-unionists. This minority renders a great disservice to the trade union movement.

With the increasing prospect of redundancies in the tertiary sector, the introduction of instructors in place of lecturers and the privatization of post-school education, battles lie ahead for the tertiary unions. Smaller unions do not have the resources to defend their members. A unified trade union covering the whole of Scottish education would be in a stronger position to defend its members. There is a price to be paid for a strengthened trade union - and the minority who are preventing this should abandon their vested interests for the common good.

Arthur Houston

The author is further education officer of the Educational Institute of Scotland.